# SELECTED ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE CASE OF CZECH, WITH A PARTICULAR FOCUS ON LEXICAL BORROWING AND CHANGING ATTITUDES TO THE SELF AND OTHERS

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This work or any part thereof has not previously been presented in any form to the University or to any other body whether for the purposes of assessment, publication or for any other purpose (unless otherwise identified). Save for any express acknowledgements, references and/or bibliographies cited in the work, I confirm that the intellectual content of the work is the result of my own efforts and of no other person.



Signature T. Dickins Date 3 February 2012

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**Abstract**

The work selected for this portfolio comprises two language-specific case studies ('Russian and Soviet loanwords and calques in the Czech lexicon since the beginning of the twentieth century' and 'Češi a slovenština' [The Czechs and the Slovak language]), two publications on the critical reception of foreign vocabulary in Czech ('The legacy and limitations of Czech purism' and *Attitudes to lexical borrowing in the Czech Republic*), and a detailed article on the implications of naming practices for perceptions of the self and others ('The Czech-speaking lands, their peoples and contact communities: titles, names and ethnonyms'). Extensive use is made of original material, including two nationwide quantitative surveys conducted on my behalf by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (CVVM), and two small-scale questionnaires carried out for me by Dr Miroslav Růžička of the Czech University of Life Sciences (Prague), as well as a range of other empirical data, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, electronic corpora, and additional sources of lexical and historical information.

My commentary employs a thematic approach, which aims both to acquaint the reader with the main findings of each of my publications, and to indicate the broad direction of my output. Supplementary information is provided in the commentary, where required, to contextualize and synthesize my arguments, to shed light on recent scholarship in cognate fields, and to ensure narrative continuity. The 'new' knowledge thus complements and frames the discussion of my selected publications, thereby helping to guide the reader through the exposition of my writings. The principal unifying themes of the chosen pieces are their emphasis on (1) the role of language in the national consciousness and self-perception, (2) the influence of external forces on the shaping of the Czech lexicon, and people's reactions to those forces, (3) public perceptions of lexical borrowing, and (4) changing attitudes to the notion of 'foreign', as reflected in the national idiom.

The commentary is divided into eight chapters, as listed in the Table of Contents. My study begins with a general introduction to my academic background, and to the content and themes of this thesis, as summarized above. Chapter 2 is based

principally on my article 'The legacy and limitations of Czech purism', and provides a combination of historical setting and statistical analysis. The next chapter presents a résumé of the overall impact of foreign languages and cultures on the historical development of Czech, with the aim of contextualizing the findings of subsequent chapters. Chapter 4, which draws mainly on 'Russian and Soviet loanwords and calques in the Czech lexicon since the beginning of the twentieth century', re-evaluates the impact of Russian and 'Soviet speak' on the Czech lexicon. In chapter 5, I consider in detail the asymmetrical nature of Czech–Slovak language relations, with reference to the views of over 1,400 informants interviewed for 'Češi a slovenština' and *Attitudes to lexical borrowing in the Czech Republic*. Chapter 6 compares the results of my survey for the latter publication, referred to as 'Perceptions', with a series of other questionnaires, including Tejnor's ground-breaking 1970 study of foreign words. 'The Czech-speaking lands, their peoples and contact communities: titles, names and ethnonyms' provides the substance of much of chapter 7, which focuses on the Czechs' tendency to see themselves in terms of opposition to outsiders, and on the depiction of 'foreignness' in the Czech lexicon. The commentary concludes with a summary of my principal observations relating to aspects of language contact and lexical borrowing in Czech, and to their implications for the self and others. Taken collectively, the eight chapters provide a framework for the discussion of my published work and for the thematic and conceptual links that validate their consideration as a corpus of cognate research activity.

**Acknowledgements**

I have been extremely fortunate in my research efforts to have enjoyed the support of so many selfless and insightful people. I will confine my acknowledgements below to a select few, without whom this thesis would not have been possible. I would, however, like to extend my gratitude to all those friends, relatives and fellow academics, not named, who have helped me in other ways, as well as to the anonymous peer reviewers of my submissions, who have provided me with such detailed and thoughtful feedback.

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## 1. Introduction to the author's work and to this thesis

The peer-reviewed papers selected for this thesis represent the continuation of a project which I began in earnest in the late 1990s, leading to the publication in 2000 of two studies on reflections of ideological values in the Czech lexicon.[1] My interest in the interpretation of changes in Czechoslovak society, however, dates back to the early 1980s, when I was awarded a British Council studentship at Charles University, Prague, followed by a scholarship from the University of Leeds to write a Masters dissertation on the resistance of Czech writers to the imposition of socialist realism.[2] The emphasis of my MA was on the relationship between the artist and the power structures and strictures of the Communist state, and might nowadays be categorized as a (new) historicist approach, as opposed to a text-based approach (or a variant thereof, such as a formalist, structuralist or post-modernist analysis). My preoccupation with the connections between culture and ideology was reflected in much of my reading in the 1980s, which included journals such as *Index on Censorship*, *Proměny* (*Transitions*) and *Svědectví* (*Testimony*), as well as a range of historical studies of the post-1918 period.[3] In recent years, my research specialism has evolved from the manifestations of political change in literature to developments in the lexicon. I have consequently become increasingly concerned with the Czechs' perceptions of external influences on their language and, as a corollary, with the centrality of the notion of 'foreign' in the collective consciousness.

All of my academic publications can be broadly subsumed under the heading of 'language variation and change' and, with one exception, they all have a clear diachronic dimension.[4] My writing deals much more with extralinguistic influences and the socio-political implications of usage than with the language-internal factors

1 Tom Dickins, 'Reflections of ideology in Slovník jazyka českého (1946–52)', in Robert Pynsent (ed.), *The Phoney Peace* (London, 2000), pp. 359–84, and 'Changing ideologies in *Slovník jazyka českého* (1937–52)', *Slavonica* 7 (1), 2000, pp. 24–74.

2 Tom Dickins, 'Critical responses to Socialist Realism in Czech literature: 1958–1969. A study of selected works by Josef Škvorecký, Bohumil Hrabal and Milan Kundera', M.A. thesis, (Leeds, 1983).

3 See, for example, Victor S. Mamatey & Radomír Luža (eds), *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–1948* (Princeton, 1973), and H. Gordon Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution* (Princeton, 1976). Details of editorial teams, sub-titles, publishers, translators and dates when webpages were accessed are provided in the bibliography.

4 The exception is Tom Dickins, 'Prepositional vocalization in contemporary Czech', *The Slavonic and East European Review* (hereafter, *SEER*) 76 (2), 1998, pp. 201–33.

discussed by semioticians such as Saussure and Peirce,[5] but some attention is inevitably paid to questions of semantics. Reference is made to a range of sources pre-dating the struggles for the foundation of the Czechoslovak state in 1918, although the main focus of my work is on lexical items from the second half of the nineteenth century to the present day. This has been a period of unprecedented political transition for the Czechs who have frequently defined themselves in terms of opposition to others, and have often felt themselves to be, in the terminology of one of Kundera's characters, puppets (*figury*), rather than the authors (*autoři*) of their own destiny.[6]

For this submission, I have chosen five pieces that clearly illustrate aspects of language change and perceptions of outside influences. The body of work selected consists of two language-specific case studies – 'Russian and Soviet loanwords and calques in the Czech lexicon since the beginning of the twentieth century' (hereafter, 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords') and 'Češi a slovenština' (The Czechs and the Slovak language), which both draw on the results of questionnaires conducted on my behalf by native speakers; two quantitative surveys of loanwords – 'The legacy and limitations of Czech purism' and *Attitudes to lexical borrowing in the Czech Republic* (hereafter, 'Legacy and limitations' and *Attitudes*), based on two different sets of data collected for me; and a systematic study of the implications of naming practices – 'The Czech-speaking lands, their peoples and contact communities: titles, names and ethnonyms' (hereafter, 'Czech titles').[7] In each of my studies, my own original empirical material is augmented by the findings of other quantitative and qualitative surveys, and by 'micro-linguistic' analysis of dictionaries, encyclopaedias, electronic corpora and numerous other sources of lexical and historical information. The main contribution of my selected publications resides in the detail, the examples cited and my positivist methodology, which distinguishes it from exclusively interpretative means of investigation. The decision to concentrate

5 See especially Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in general linguistics* (London, 1960), and Charles S. Peirce, *Collected papers: Volume V. Pragmatism and pragmaticism* (Cambridge, MA, 1934).
6 See Milan Kundera, 'Já truchlivý bůh', in *Směšné lásky* (Prague, 1970), p. 9, originally published in the first of three volumes, *Směšné lásky* (Prague, 1963).
7 For bibliographical details, see page 2. The findings of *Attitudes* are also summarized in Czech in Tom Dickins, 'Postoje k výpůjčkám v soudobé češtině', *Naše společnost* 6 (1), 2008, pp. 14–28. The technical specifications of my surveys are provided in the relevant publications.

on lexical borrowing, rather than syntax, morphology or phonology, reflects the fact that this is the area of historical linguistics which reveals most about the impact of external forces on the development of Czech, as well as attitudes to the self and others.

The commentary employs a thematic approach, which seeks to familiarize the reader with the principal arguments of each of my chosen publications, to indicate the progression of my thinking, and to accentuate the integrity of my work as a corpus of cognate research activity. Additional information is provided, where appropriate, to contextualize and synthesize my findings, to shed light on recent scholarship, and to ensure narrative continuity. The 'new' knowledge thus frames and supplements the discussion of my portfolio, but it does not represent a departure from my stated interests. My commentary moves from historical background in chapters 2 and 3 – language contact and perceptions in their diachronic perspective – to the more specific in chapters 4 and 5 – linguistic relations with Russian and Slovak speakers – to an overview in chapters 6 and 7 of interpretations and representations of the foreign and the self, as reflected in the lexicon. Despite the breadth of my designated output, the complementarity of the subject matter strongly supports the exploration of common threads.

The principal unifying themes of the selected publications are their emphasis on (1) the role of language in the national consciousness and self-perception, (2) the influence of external forces on the shaping of the Czech lexicon, and people's reactions to those forces, (3) public perceptions of lexical borrowing, and (4) changing attitudes to the notion of 'foreign', as reflected in the national idiom. The study of Russian and Soviet neologisms, which itself complements one of my earlier studies,[8] re-evaluates the impact of the Russian-speaking world on Czech private and public life. It broadly concludes that even educated Czechs are largely unaware of the provenance of established Russian borrowings, except where lexical items relate explicitly to Russian reality or to Soviet-style socialism, and that the use of Russianisms is limited more by the nature and narrowness of the semantic domains covered than by a distaste for Russian lexemes per se. 'Češi a slovenština', which

8 Tom Dickins, 'Representations of Russian and Soviet society in standard Czech reference dictionaries', *Central Europe* 2 (2), 2004, pp. 133–59.

draws on the evidence of over a thousand informants throughout the Czech Republic, as well as secondary sources, highlights the asymmetrical nature of the relationship between Czech and Slovak. Amongst its most important findings is that, notwithstanding the decline in functional bilingualism amongst Czechs and Slovaks, there remains a cultural-linguistic affinity between speakers of the two languages. All three of my relevant attitudinal surveys on lexical borrowing confirm the Czechs' enduring positive perceptions of things Slovak, and suggest that post-war anti-German sentiment is diminishing. Some Czechs, it emerges, may still not feel unambiguously enthusiastic about their erstwhile adversary and their language, but young people, in particular, no longer see the Germans as a major threat. (See 'Czech titles', p. 440, note 168.)

The question of German influence, which was the preoccupation of language reformers during the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century National Revival, is touched upon in the two lexicological articles referred to in note 1, as well as in my studies of Czech linguistic purism, borrowing and onomastics. The broader contribution of German loanwords and calques to the development of the pre-twentieth-century Czech lexicon has been documented in detail elsewhere, and exceeds the scope of my current research.[9] The increasingly pervasive impact of English has also been considered to varying degrees by other scholars.[10] Yet, 'Perceptions', which is cited extensively in *Attitudes* and is also referred to in 'Češi a slovenština' and 'Czech titles', remains the most in-depth and comprehensive nationwide survey of critical receptions of lexical borrowing since Tejnor's ground-

9 See, for example, Robert Auty, 'The role of purism in the development of the Slavonic literary languages', *SEER* 51 (124), 1973, pp. 335–43, George Thomas, 'Problems in the study of migratory loanwords in the Slavic languages', *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 27 (3), 1985, pp. 307–25, 'The Role of Calques in the Early Czech Language Revival', *SEER* 56 (4), 1978, pp. 481–504, and 'Towards a History of Modern Czech Purism', *SEER* 74 (3), 1996, pp. 401–20, Tamás Tölgyesi, 'Lexikální germanismy v češtině', PhD dissertation, (Piliscsaba, 2009), available at <http://mek.oszk.hu/08400/08488/08488.pdf>, and Stefan Michael Newerkla, *Sprachkontakte Deutsch – Tschechisch – Slowakisch* (Frankfurt am Main et al., 2004).

10 The most important empirical study of Anglicisms is Silke Gester, *Anglizismen im Tschechischen und im Deutschen* (Frankfurt am Main et al., 2001), and *První empirická recepce anglicismů v českém jazyce* (Olomouc, 2001). See also Ivana Bozděchová, *Vliv angličtiny na češtinu*, in František Daneš et al. (eds), *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíciletí* (Prague, 1997), pp. 12–24, Jiří Rejzek, 'K formální adaptaci anglicismů', *Naše řeč* 76 (1), 1993, pp. 26–30, Diana Svobodová, 'Anglická a hybridní kompozita v současné češtině a jejich adaptace', *Naše řeč* 82 (3), 1999, pp. 122–26, 'Anglické výrazy v českém publicistickém stylu', *Naše řeč* 79 (2), 1996, pp. 99–102, *Internacionalizace současné české slovní zásoby* (Ostrava, 2007), and 'Přejatá slova v češtině z pohledu uživatelů jazyka', *Český jazyk a literatura* 52 (7–8), 2001, pp. 170–78.

breaking questionnaire from 1970.[11]

Despite the enormity of the changes that have occurred in Czech society, *Attitudes* endorsed many of Tejnor's findings, conducted at a time of broad monocultural consensus. While roughly the same number of people (around 46%) consider loanwords to be indispensable, there is still a strong sense that Czech contains too many peripheral foreign terms, and that they are somehow eroding the national culture. As Karel Oliva remarked in a recent interview, Czech is relatively slow to adapt to borrowing: "Here [*u nás* – see chapter 7] foreign words have the odour of strangeness and unpleasantness before they finally assert themselves".[12] A similar distaste for foreign influences is evinced in 'Czech titles', which concludes, inter alia, that many of the designations of people and places have implicitly promoted the interests of the majority over those of minorities. The Herderian model of language-culture-state, which has been emphasized by scholars from František Palacký (1798–1876) to Albert Pražák (1880–1956), continues to inform perceptions of reality, even though progressive public discourses about identity, and participation in a larger community, have led to a more nuanced approach to foreignness.[13] Outside the sphere of language, traditional enmities are gradually giving way to a new dichotomy between those foreign influences which are perceived as neutral or positive and those regarded as more malign. Havlík defines as 'unproblematic' near neighbours, west Europeans, Americans and other peoples from developed capitalist economies, but puts the former inhabitants of the ex-USSR, people from the Far East and Roma in the 'problematic' camp.[14]

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11 Antonín Tejnor, *Cizí slova v českém jazyce* (Prague, 1971), and Antonín Tejnor et al., 'Přejatá slova a veřejné mínění', *Naše řeč* 55 (4), 1972, pp. 185–201.

12 Radka Říjmanová, 'Na cizí slova si zvykáme pomaleji než větší národy', *Mladá fronta Dnes*, 4 August 2011, p. A3.

13 See František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého w Čechách a w Moravě* (Prague, 1848–1867), originally published in German as *Geschichte von Böhmen* (1836–1867), and Albert Pražák, *Národ se bránil* (Prague, 1945); also Tilman Berger, 'Jazyk a národ', in Walter Koschmal et al. (eds), *Češi a Němci: dějiny – kultura – politika* (Prague & Litomyšl, 2001), pp. 131–35, and Kateřina Černá, 'Czech–German Relationships and Identity in a Cross-border Region', in Jenny Carl & Patrick Stevenson (eds), *Language, Discourse and Identity in Central Europe* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2009), pp. 96–121.

14 Radomír Havlík, 'Postoje k cizincům a menšinám ve světle sociologického výzkumu', *Paideia: Philosophical E-Journal of Charles University* 4 (1–2), 2007, pp. 1–8 (pp. 2–3). <http://userweb.pedf.cuni.cz/paideia/download/havlik.pdf>.

## 2. The role of language in the national consciousness

The sub-title of Pražák's afore-mentioned study, *Obrany národa a jazyka českého od nejstarších dob po přítomnost* (*Apologias for the nation and the Czech language from the earliest times to the present day*), published just after the war, makes the link between language and nationhood explicit.[15] The immediate post-war years were a time of heightened national sentiment for the Czechs, but Pražák's work drew on a much longer puristic tradition, with origins pre-dating the National Revival. The search for a semi-mythical, idealized form of language, which is addressed in 'Legacy and limitations' and *Attitudes*, was vigorously pursued by a range of Czech scholars from the second half of the seventeenth century to the 1930s. While theoretically Czech purism did not discriminate between different languages, in practice it was targeted principally against German influence.

Amongst the seventeenth-century scholars who shaped the development of literary Czech were Jiří Konstanc (1607–1673), who popularized the image of the whetstone (*brus*) and of the purist as a knife-grinder (*brusič*); Václav Jan Rosa (c.1620–1689), who made a significant contribution to the theory and practice of word formation; and Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), whose historical studies included a defence of the Slavonic and, especially, the Bohemian tongue.[16] The desire for greater linguistic and cultural self-determination grew throughout the National Revival, and ultimately contributed to demands for political independence. Hroch has identified three distinct phases in the National Revival: Phase A – the period of scholarly activity in the second half of the eighteenth century, Phase B – the period of patriotic agitation in the first half of the nineteenth century, and Phase C – the rise of a mass national movement in the second half of the nineteenth century.[17] (See *Attitudes*, pp. 10–11.) Perhaps the most important of the Revivalists in the first and second phases were Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), whose reputation rests

15 Pražák, *Národ se bránil.* Important more recent studies relating to Czech nationalism include Miroslav Hroch, *Na prahu národní existence* (Prague, 1999), Pavel Kosatík, *České snění* (Prague, 2010), and Vladimír Macura, *Znamení zrodu* (Prague, 1983).
16 See especially Jiří Konstanc, *Lima lingvae Bohemicae: BRVS Gazyka Czeského* (Prague, 1667), Václav J. Rosa, *Čechořečnost seu grammatica linguae bohemicae* (Prague, 1672), and Bohuslav Balbín, *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica* (Prague, 1775).
17 Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 61.

primarily on his philological and historical studies, and Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), whose work on language and literature included translations of major European writers and a five-volume Czech-German dictionary, which significantly extended the lexical repertoire of the written language.[18] Of the later Awakeners, pride of place goes to Palacký, who remains best known for his historical tomes, which promoted the concept of a revitalized Bohemian kingdom, but who also made some important contributions on onomastic themes.[19] Palacký's switch from a narrowly defined Bohemian-based approach to one which fully embraced Moravia, and his increasing tendency to define the essence of Czech history in terms of its conflict with Germandom, symbolically reinforced the status of language as the principal arbiter of national identity. (See 'Czech titles', pp. 403 and 406.)

The puristic cause was enthusiastically embraced in the second half of the nineteenth century by a range of linguists, such as Jan Javůrek (1825–1912), but, as I point out in 'Legacy and limitations' (p. 114), the accumulative effect of their a priori conceptions was to impose constraints on self-expression and to render aspects of the literary language archaic. Thomas has noted that the 1870s saw a particular increase in publications dealing with the correctness of Czech, and that the question of purism framed much of the linguistic debate for the next seventy years.[20] Amongst the more moderate scholars, who sought to avoid overt polemicization with the prescriptivists, was Jan Gebauer (1838–1907), whose highly influential work on grammar stressed the need for clarity and consistency.[21]

As I argue in *Attitudes* (p. 11), the impetus for purism was complex and multi-faceted, and may have been informed by numerous not altogether coherently conceived patriotic responses. Daneš distinguishes between two sets of attitudes to language intervention: instrumental versus affective, and ethical versus traditional,

18 See especially Joseph Dobrowsky, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (Prague, 1792), and Josef Jungmann, *Historie literatury české […]* (Prague, 1849), first published in 1825, and *Slownjk českoněmecký* (Prague, 1835–1839). Available at <http://www.slownjk.cz/>.
19 See František Palacký, 'Rozbor etymologický místních jmen československých', *Časopis českého muzea* 8 (4), 1834, pp. 404–19, and *Popis království […]* (Prague, 1848).
20 Thomas, 'Towards a History […]', pp. 404–405.
21 See Jan Gebauer, *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého. Hláskosloví* (Prague–Vienna, 1894), *Tvarosloví – Skloňování* (Prague–Vienna, 1896); *Tvarosloví – Časování* (Prague–Vienna, 1898); *Skladba* (Prague, 1929).

both of which include rational and non-rational motivations.[22] According to Thomas, non-rational motivations comprise aesthetic considerations (based on notions of the uniqueness of the national culture), social or contextual factors, the role of national consciousness (opposition to those elements of language which threaten its identity, and the identity of the culture which it represents), and psychological impulses (the need to protect the language from presumed internal or external threats). Rational motivations consist of the intelligibility argument (borrowings may impair comprehension), sociolinguistic functional criteria (the solidarity function, the separating function and the prestige function), and structural arguments.[23]

The limitations of the puristic approach were clearly exposed in the 1920s by members of the editorial board of the journal *Naše řeč* (founded in 1916): Josef Zubatý (1855–1931), Václav Ertl (1875–1929) and Emil Smetánka (1875–1949). However, the other original members of the board, Jaroslav Vlček (1860–1930) and František Bílý (1854–1920), and the subsequent editor-in-chief from 1931 to 1948, Jiří Haller (1896–1971), pursued a more prescriptive approach.[24] As noted in 'Legacy and limitations' (p. 114) and *Attitudes* (pp. 12–13), it was only in the early 1930s that the Prague Linguistic Circle definitively asserted the legitimacy of functionally necessary loanwords. Vilém Mathesius (1882–1945) and other members of the Circle advocated language change on the basis of *pružná stabilita* (flexible stability), which dismissed the antiquation of language.[25] Although the threat of re-Germanization vanished altogether after 1945, the puristic tradition arguably continued to exert some influence on public perceptions throughout the socialist period (1948–1989).

The tendency until the 1990s for Czechs to eschew superfluous loanwords resided in a combination of socio-political, generational and linguistic factors, which are identified in 'Legacy and limitations' (p. 128 [Thomas]), *Attitudes* (pp. 13–14) and 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords' (pp. 596–97). First, in spite of the

22 František Daneš, 'Dialektische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Literatursprache', in Jürgen Scharnhorst & Edgar Radtke (eds), *Grundlagen der Sprachkultur*, Part 1, (Berlin, 1982), pp. 92–113.
23 George Thomas, *Linguistic Purism* (New York, 1991), pp. 39–61.
24 See Thomas, 'Towards a History […]', pp. 412–13, and Zdenek Salzmann, 'Foreign influences on Czech as a measure of nationalism and internationalism', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 16 (1–2), 1989, pp. 63–77 (p. 65).
25 See especially Roman Jakobson, 'O dnešním brusičství českém', in Bohumil Havránek & Miloš Weingart (eds), *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* (Prague, 1932), pp. 85–122, and Vilém Mathesius, 'O potřebě stability ve spisovném jazyce', in Vilém Mathesius, *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt* (Prague, 1947), pp. 415–35.

strenuous efforts of the Communist authorities to promote the study of Russian, and to present the Soviet Union as the political exemplar for Czechoslovakia, state socialism was largely characterized by monocultural entrenchment. Most people had little psychological or practical incentive to master Russian,[26] and still less reason to embrace ideologically motivated Russianisms. Moreover, restrictions on travel, and lack of exposure to major western European languages (especially English, French and Italian), perpetuated a sense of sociocultural homogeneity. Second, the fundamentals of the Circle's theories of *jazyková kultura* (language culture) erred on the side of conservatism, in that they accepted the norms of *spisovná čeština* (literary Czech) as the basis for language development.[27] The opposition to attempts by Sgall, Hronek and others to re-evaluate the status of *obecná čeština* (common colloquial Czech), as discussed in my first academic publication, testifies to the rigidity of the Czech linguistic establishment.[28] Third, as proposed by Neustupný, the Czechs' tendency to opt for indigenous morphemes may be more a reflection of the typological profile of the language than of the influence of puristic sentiment.[29] While it is possible, however, that historically the rules of Czech word formation militated against borrowing from non-Slavonic languages, the current propensity to adopt Anglicisms suggests that morphological and phonological constraints alone are insufficient to resist the processes of internationalization and modernization.

The main body of 'Legacy and limitations', whose questionnaire served as a pilot study for 'Perceptions', seeks to assess current views of loanwords by comparing four sets of empirical data.[30] It broadly concludes that, while attitudes to

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26 Alexandr Stich, 'Existuje u nás pocit ohrožení jazyka?', *Naše řeč* 78 (2), 1995, pp. 61–73 (p. 64), has described the results achieved in Russian teaching as 'quite deplorable'.

27 For a critique of the Circle's approaches, see Zdeněk Starý, 'The Forbidden Fruit is the Most Tempting or Why There is No Czech Sociolinguistics', in Eva Eckert (ed.), *Varieties of Czech: Studies in Czech Sociolinguistics* (Amsterdam- Atlanta, 1993), pp. 79–95 (p. 80).

28 Tom Dickins, 'Linguistic varieties in Czech: problems of the spoken language', *Slavonica* 1 (2), 1995, pp. 20–46. See, for example, Petr Sgall, 'Obikhodno-razgovornyi cheshskii yazyk', *Voprosy yazykoznaniya* 9 (2), 1960, pp. 11–20, Jiří Hronek, *Obecná čeština* (Prague, 1972), Jiří Hronek & Petr Sgall, 'Sbližování spisovné a obecné češtiny', *Naše řeč* 82 (4), 1999, pp. 184–91, and Petr Sgall & Jiří Hronek, *Čeština bez příkras* (Jinočany, 1992).

29 J. V. Neustupný, 'Language purism as a type of language correction', in Björn H. Jernudd & Michael J. Shapiro (eds), *The Politics of Language Purism* (Berlin, 1989), pp. 211–23 (pp. 214–15).

30 The other studies were by Tejnor and Gester (see notes 10 and 11), and Jiří Kraus, 'Několik poznámek k pocitu jazykového ohrožení', *Naše řeč* 79 (1), 1996, pp. 1–9, and 'Jaká je čeština v letech devadesátých?' in František Daneš et al., *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíceletí* (Prague, 1997), pp. 288–92.

borrowing are becoming more liberal, there is a discrepancy between speakers' idealized perspectives and the reality of what they find acceptable. Most of the informants expressed the opinion that foreign terms are sometimes overused, and that the standards of both spoken and written Czech are deteriorating. The second part of the study, however, illustrates that attempts by linguists to influence lexical usage have tended to fall on deaf ears. Of 540 borrowed word forms defined as superfluous by Bartoš and Zenkl, in two well-known Czech language manuals written about a century ago, a majority remain in common use.[31] Based on the authoritative corpus-based frequency dictionary of Czech, *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* (hereafter, *FSČ*), 176 (or 32.59%) of the expressions cited have an Average Reduced Frequency (ARF) rank in the top 10,000; ninety-two (or 17.04%) appear in the top 5,000; seventy-five (13.89%) occur in the top 4,000; fifty-four (10%) feature in the top 3,000; thirty-four (6.3%) figure in the top 2,000, and eleven (2.04%) are found in the top 1,000.[32] (See 'Legacy and limitations', pp. 127–28.)

Notwithstanding the discrepancy between people's speculative perceptions of the state of Czech and their everyday linguistic behaviour, language continues to be seen as a defining feature of ethnocultural affiliation. As recorded in 'Czech titles' (p. 453), the most important determinants of Czechness specified in a survey of 1,700 informants in 1997, are a person's ability to speak the language, and the extent to which he or she feels Czech.[33] The latter more or less assumes linguistic proficiency as a prerequisite for the assimilation required to identify with the matrix population, but the former does not automatically ensure the latter. Hence, fluent Czech-speaking Roma and other minorities may generally be accorded the status of 'non-Czechs', even though they enjoy Czech citizenship and may have little affinity with the country of origin of their forebears. It is not by accident that I include Roma under the heading of '"problematic" foreigners' in 'Czech titles' (pp. 448–49); for this is

31 František Bartoš, *Nová rukověť správné češtiny* (Telč, 1901), pp. 159–70, and Petr Zenkl, *Příručka správné mateřštiny* (Prague, 1916–1920), pp. 95–98 & 138–39.

32 František Čermák et al., *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* (Prague, 2004). Average reduced frequency, according to Jaroslava Hlaváčová's definition, *FSČ*, p. 15, is a measure of 'intuitive commonness' based both on the frequency of a word in the corpus and on its distribution within the corpus. See also Petr Savický & Jaroslava Hlaváčová, 'Measures of Word Commonness', *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 9 (3), 2002, pp. 215–31.

33 Alena Nedomová & Tomáš Kostelecký, 'The Czech National Identity', *Czech Sociological Review* 1, 1997, pp. 79–92 (p. 84). <http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/443020da8b2425f8ae88aae4 fd84d71b 874c987d_440_079NEKOS.pdf>.

how they are perceived by a great many ethnic Czechs. Pape tells the sad story of a little Roma girl who greeted the Czech victory in the ice-hockey final of the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano by chanting "Naši kluci vyhráli! Naši jsou mistři!" (Our lads won! We're the champions!), only to be informed by her fellow pupils that she had no right to celebrate, as she was not Czech.[34]

As 'Czech titles' illustrates, the very concept of 'nationality' is far from straightforward. Macura has noted that the problem of finding a universally applicable definition has resulted in the creation of sub-categories, such as Meinecke's dichotomy between *Kulturnation* (a cultural nation) – the symbols of a people's cultural identity, and *Staatsnation* (a state nation), which is more closely bound to the concept of citizenship.[35] The statistically most frequently used term in Czech, *národnost*, cited 2,105 times in all cases in the balanced reference corpus of written Czech, *SYN2010*, comprising 100 million words, relates specifically to ethnic grouping rather than statehood.[36] By contrast, *státní příslušnost* (literally 'state affiliation'), which perhaps corresponds more closely to the modern western understanding of 'nationality' based on citizenship, occurs just 146 times.

*Národnost* serves principally to differentiate ethnic Czechs from other ethnies, such as Germans and Roma, but it may also refer to the three indigenous 'Czech' peoples – the Bohemians, Moravians and Silesians. The situation is further complicated by the polysemous nature of *Češi* (Czechs/Bohemians), which functions both as a hypernym and as a co-hyponym of *Moravané* (Moravians) and *Slezané* (Silesians), as discussed in 'Czech titles' (p. 421). The fact that, historically, *Češi* likewise quite often subsumed Slovaks, as evidenced by Masaryk's repeated references before 1918 to the Slovaks as 'Czechs',[37] and the tendency for *Moravané* to incorporate *Slezané*, represent additional layers of complexity in an already ethnically stratified picture.

At the time of the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic, Czech opposition to

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34 Iveta Pape, 'Jak pracovat s romskými žáky: Příručka pro učitele a asistenty pedagogů', *Slovo* 21, 2007, pp. 3–57 (p. 23). <http://www.internetovekluby.cz/LinkClick.aspx? link=prirucka_jak_pracovat_s_romskymi_zaky_text_web.pdf&tabid=418>.

35 Macura, *Znamení zrodu*, p. 178.

36 *Český národní korpus*, Prague, 2000–2010. <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz>. All the figures for citations from the Czech National Corpus (ČNK) also include examples with initial capital letters.

37 Tomáš Masaryk (1850–1937; president of Czechoslovakia, 1918–1937); see, for example, Kosatík, *České snění*, p. 26 (note 40) & p. 28 (note 42).

the German-speaking world, and Slovak opposition to Hungarian rule, promoted unity through adversity. The creation of the new state met the short-term goals of both peoples. As Bakke puts it, "The Czech national leaders wanted to include Slovakia in order to be numerically stronger against the large German minority in the historical Czech lands, and the Slovak national leaders preferred a Czechoslovak state to the alternative, which was to remain under Hungarian rule."[38] Yet, not only did none of the Czechs' and Slovaks' immediate neighbours, apart from Romania, endorse the state,[39] but the coincidence of Czech and Slovak short-term interests did not lead to a merger in ethnic identity. For all the similarities and contacts between the two peoples, the primary affiliation of most Czechs and Slovaks was to the language and culture of their own land(s), as illustrated in 'Češi a slovenština'.

Pynsent uses Anthony Smith's model to explain the creation of the Czech and Slovak nations, and concludes that at first sight the Czechs appear to be "an aristocratic ethnie which took the bureaucratic route" and the Slovaks "a demotic ethnie which took the cultural revolutionary route". However, as Pynsent points out, this interpretation denies the role of the Great Moravian Empire in Slovak history, and dismisses the idea that during the National Revival the Czechs adopted an artificially cultivated literary language which was rooted in the medieval past.[40] The principal justification for Slovak nationhood is their existence as part of a Slav state which pre-dated Magyar dominion, while Czech national identity is predicated on the rejection of German aristocracy and the promotion of the demotic myth. My own work, especially 'Czech titles' (p. 431), acknowledges the importance accorded in national mythopoeia to the role of ordinary people. (See also chapter 7.)

38 Elizabeth Bakke, 'The Making of Czechoslovakism in the First Czechoslovak Republic', in Martin Schulze Wessel (ed.), *Loyalitäten in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik 1918–1938* (Munich, 2004), pp. 23–44 (p. 25).
39 See, for example, Michal Pehr, *Zápas o nové Československo 1939–1946* (Prague, 2011), p. 15.
40 Robert B. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity* (London, 1994), pp. 156–90 (p. 157), draws on Anthony D. Smith, 'Origin of Nation', *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 8 January 1993, pp.15-16, which is a distilled version of *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986).

## 3. The influence of external forces on the shaping of the Czech lexicon

The objective of this chapter is to present a résumé of the overall impact of foreign languages and cultures on the historical development of Czech, with a view to contextualizing my language-specific case studies in chapters 4 and 5, and my discussion of attitudes to the 'foreign' in chapters 6 and 7. As the broader background to contact with other languages is only touched upon in my publications, greater consideration is given here than elsewhere to supplementary academic sources. Unless specifically stated, the material below is substantially 'new'.

Czech has seven principal foreign lexifiers: Ancient Greek, Latin, German, English, French, Italian and Russian, of which the last forms the basis of the case study in chapter 4. The Czech lexicon has also been significantly influenced by other Slavonic tongues, such as Slovak and Polish, and contains a number of loanwords from non-cognate languages, including Hungarian, Turkish, Arabic, Hebrew, Chinese and Japanese.[41] Given that so many of the lexical borrowings from modern European languages have their origins in Latin (which may in turn have their roots in or include elements of Greek), the concept of a lexifier is understood in my work not etymologically, but in the sense of *the primary linguistic donor*. Thus, for example, *kombajn* (combine harvester) is treated as a Russianism in 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords' (p. 627), although it can be traced back to Latin, via English and Old French: Czech *kombajn* < Russian (1920s/1930s) *kombain* < modern English *combine* < late Middle English < Old French *combiner* or late Latin *combinare* ('join two by two') < *com-* ('together') + Latin *bini* ('two together').[42]

Unfortunately, there is no really satisfactory general classification of language borrowing. Gómez Capuz has, however, narrowed the diversity down to four basic types: (1) classifications according to the relationship between languages (in Bloomfield's schema, 'cultural borrowing' – foreign terms relating to realities from different cultures, and 'intimate borrowing' – expressions adopted from a more powerful language within a given speech community), (2) hierarchical classifications (borrowing between national languages and Bloomfield's 'dialect borrowing'), (3)

41 See, for example, Přemysl Hauser, *Nauka o slovní zásobě* (Prague, 1980), pp. 56–57.
42 See Larissa Ryazanova-Clarke & Terence Wade, *The Russian Language Today* (London, 1999), p. 19, and Catherine Soanes & Angus Stevenson, *Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford, 2005).

formal classifications based on the extent to which modification occurs in the source language; as in the nineteenth-century German distinction between *Lehnwort* (loanword) and *Fremdwort* (foreign word), systematized and developed by Betz, but also between Weinreich's and Haugen's 'importation' (straight loanword), 'substitution' (loan-translation, loanshift), and 'loanblends'/'hybrids' (a mingling of the two means), and (4) classifications according to the level of the target/receiving language affected by interference, devised by Drabelnet, and modified by Meney.[43]

Czech theoretically observes a bifurcate distinction between *Fremdwörter* (*cizí slova*) (foreign words which are phonologically, morphologically or orthographically alien, or which exhibit the semantic characteristics of 'cultural borrowing') and *Lehnwörter* (*přejatá slova*, *výpůjčky*) (loanwords which have been largely assimilated). In practice, however, the distinction is fuzzy, and the different terms for the adopted words often overlap. The standard Czech reference dictionary *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (hereafter, *SSJČ*) defines *cizí slovo* as '[a word] from another language milieu', *výpůjčka* as 'a borrowed [literally "crossed-over"] word [*přejaté slovo*]' and *přejaté slovo* as 'emanating from a foreign language, but used in a person's native language'.[44] This definition omits reference to the idea that *cizí slova* are automatically outside the mainstream Czech lexicon, and possibly implies that both categories belong on the same semantic continuum, rather than being mutually exclusive. *Cizí slovo* would appear to encompass a broader range of designations, which span from lexical exoticisms or 'xenismes', in Guilbert's terminology, such as *impíčment*/*impeachment*, to everyday words whose foreign provenance is no longer immediately discernible, including *klub* (club) and *knedlík* (dumpling), but not to fully naturalized expressions such as *škola* (school).[45] *Výpůjčka* and *přejaté slovo*, on the other hand, implicitly exclude both the lexical exoticisms and naturalized words. Put simply, on the basis of the dictionary definition, *přejatá slova* are always *cizí slova*, but not all *cizí slova* are *přejatá slova*.

My publications embrace all the concepts of borrowing subsumed under the

43 Juan Gómez Capuz, 'Towards a Typological Classification of Linguistic Borrowing (Illustrated with Anglicisms in Romance Languages)', *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 10, 1997, pp. 81–94 (pp. 82–83). Details of the publications cited are given in the bibliography.
44 Bohuslav Havránek et al., *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Prague, 1960–1971), Vol. 1.
45 Louis Guilbert, *La créativité lexicale* (Paris, 1975). Věra Petráčková et al., *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (Prague, 1998) list *impeachment*, *klub* and *knedlík*, but not *škola*.

dictionary definition of *cizí slovo*, but largely avoid consideration of fully integrated (etymological) loanwords, such as *škola*. In keeping with the 'perceptionist' approach of Tejnor and Gester, I tend to differentiate between lexical imports more on the basis of their semantic domains and their donor language than on their typology or morphophonological adaptation. I also refer specifically to the sociolinguistic motives for borrowing, which have been summarized by McMahon under the headings of (1) practical necessity ('cultural borrowing'), and (2) social factors ('perceptions of prestige').[46]

Excluding Greek and Latin, German was by some margin the major foreign source of vocabulary until 1918; with French occupying second place, and English increasingly prevalent in sport and technological innovation. The decline of German influence during the National Revival particularly affected *spisovná čeština*, with the result that many loanwords, such as *fest* (tight, hard) and *štafle* (stepladder), have become restricted to colloquial usage. Even some of those Germanisms that have continued to coexist with Czech equivalents have now been largely replaced by English synonyms; for instance, *tým* (team) for *mančaft* (German *Mannschaft*; Czech *mužstvo*).[47] In *SYN2010*, the number of citations for each expression, including derivatives, is: *tým*/*týmový* 31,444, *mužstvo* 5,912, *mančaft*/*manšaft* 346. However, for all the German borrowings that have been marginalized or have disappeared, there are hundreds more which have been fully assimilated, such as *cíl* (< *Ziel*) (aim) and *křída* (< *Kreide*) (chalk). German influence has also proven enduring in other areas of language, including syntax (*co to je za …? < was für ein(e)… ist das?* [what sort of … is it?]), phraseology (*to jsou ale věci < das sind aber so Sachen* [that's the way things are, damn it]) and word formation (abstract nouns ending in *–ismus*).

The Romance languages similarly played a significant role in the development of pre-1918 Czech. French influence is particularly evident in the semantic domains of fashion and cosmetics (*blůza* [blouse], *parfém* [perfume]), diplomacy (*ambasáda* [embassy], *atašé*/*ataše* [attaché]), cuisine (*omeleta* [omelette], *žampión* [button mushroom]) and the arts (*žánr* [genre], *impresionismus* [impressionism]). Italian has left its mark principally on musical terminology (*adagio*, *tenor*), but has also

46 April M. S. McMahon, *Understanding Language Change* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 201–202.
47 See Tölgyesi, 'Lexikální germanismy v češtině', p. 352.

contributed to terms for food and drink (*salám* [salami], *zázvor* [ginger]) and money-related matters (*banka* [bank], *konto* [account]). Amongst the most common Spanish loanwords are *armáda* (army) and *kokos* (coconut), while Portuguese has donated *zebra*.

According to Dvořáček, in a four-part article, the influence of French grew after 1918 as a result of increased political and cultural contacts, including translations of French works into Czech. He cites, amongst other examples, the phrase *máte špatné vzezření* (< *vous avez [une] mauvaise mine*) (you look bad).[48] However, the role of French appears to have been dramatically affected by the 1938 Munich Agreement (tellingly dubbed *Mnichovský diktát* [Munich Diktat], *Mnichovská zrada* [Munich Betrayal] and *zrada spojenců*/*západu* [betrayal by the allies/the west]), which became a symbol of Czech national humiliation. It is not possible to prove a counterfactual such as 'without the Munich Crisis, the Czechs would have adopted more French neologisms', but Jelínek has noted that the Agreement led to a concerted campaign against loanwords, especially Gallicisms.[49]

Despite the enforced Germanization of Czech society during the occupation, the war itself did not leave a lasting impression on the Czech lexicon. Practically all the German-based neologisms of the time are now confined to the status of historicisms; for instance, *gestapák* (member of the Gestapo) and *totální nasazení* (Totaleinsatz; 'total deployment'). Moreover, words banned by the Nazi authorities were quickly reclaimed, including *strojvůdce* (train driver), which was deemed unacceptable under the Protectorate because *vůdce* with a capital 'V' denoted the Führer. Only a few phrases, such as the calque *být plně vytížen* < *voll ausgelastet sein* (to be fully exploited), whose Nazi associations are no longer widely known, have survived to this day.[50]

The contribution of English to the Czech lexicon began in earnest at the start of the twentieth century. Amongst the various Anglicisms popularized at the time were *volejbal* (volleyball) and *trolejbus* (trolleybus). In the post-war period, English

48 Jaroslav Dvořáček, 'Nejčastější galicismy v novočeské skladbě', *Naše řeč* 16 (3), 1932, pp. 65–71 (p. 66); 16 (4), 1932, pp. 97–103; 16 (5), 1932, pp. 129–37; 16 (6), 1932, pp. 161–68.
49 Milan Jelínek, 'Purismus', in Jana Pleskalová et al. (eds), *Kapitoly z dějin české jazykovědné bohemistiky* (Prague, 2007), pp. 540–72 (p. 542).
50 See Dušan Šlosar, *Tisíciletá* (Prague, 1990), p. 86.

influence was suppressed, but neologisms such as *nylonky/najlonky* (nylon stockings) and *kečup* (ketchup) still found their way into the Czech lexicon. Following increased exposure to the Anglophone world in the 1960s, the Czechoslovak authorities sought to reassert a degree of covert control over lexical usage in the 1970s, as evidenced by the preference given to the loan translation *párek v rohlíku* over *hot dog*, and the promotion in the media of *házená* for *handbal* (handball) and *odbíjená* for *volejbal*.[51] Other areas where English was prominent before 1989 included popular culture (*džez*/*jazz*, *hit*), cinema and television (*film*, *dabovat* [to dub]) and technology (*buldozer* [bulldozer], *radar*).

The reorientation of Czechoslovakia towards the Russian-speaking world after the war perhaps surprisingly did not lead to a dramatic shift in the overall balance of foreign words in Czech, although it did have a profound effect on Czech stylistically, semantically, structurally and conceptually. A study by Těšitelová, cited in 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords' (pp. 634–35), which drew mainly on research from the 1980s, found that of the 10,000 most common Czech words, 523 were derived directly from Latin, 288 from Greek, 171 from German, 152 from French, thirty-six from Italian, thirty from English, and just ten from Russian.[52] Poštolková et al. refer in a publication written in 1983 to a survey of 2,560 one-word technical terms, including 35.15% based on foreign morphemes, of which 59.51% were from Latin or Greek, 17.25% from French, 7.63% from English, 6.75% from German, and 2.53% from Italian.[53]

The German contribution to the Czech lexicon since the war has been mainly confined to German and Austrian realities, including *gastarbajtr*/*gastarbeiter* and *přecizení* (foreign infiltration [of Austrian society]) – a calque based on *Überfremdung*. Words from the Romance languages have similarly fallen largely into the category of 'cultural borrowing'. Most of the French and Italian expressions that have recently entered or consolidated their presence in the lexicon relate to culinary themes, including *crêperie*/*creperie* and *preso*. Since 1989, Czech has also adopted a

51 All the examples cited here are from Marek Nekula, 'Anglicismy v češtině', in Wolfgang Viereck et al., *Atlas anglického jazyka* (Prague, 2004), pp. 259–94 (p. 263).
52 Marie Těšitelová, 'O přejatých slovech v češtině z hlediska kvantitativního', *Slovo a slovesnost* 51 (2), 1990, pp. 111–23 (p. 112).
53 Běla Poštolková et al., *O české terminologii* (Prague, 1983), p. 58.

considerable number of internationally recognized terms from oriental languages, especially Japanese, including *karaoke* and *shiatsu*/*šiacu* (massage therapy).[54] Whereas orientalisms are conspicuous by their morphology, phonology and orthography, Slovak expressions usually fit seamlessly into the Czech lexicon. The transfer of words from Slovak to Czech and, more commonly, Czech to Slovak, is a prima facie example of 'dialect borrowing', although, for the reasons discussed in chapter 5, it may not always have been presented as such.[55] Amongst the Slovakisms used in contemporary Czech media, as cited by Musilová, are *nad ránem* (by morning) and *namyšlený* (conceited).[56] (See 'Češi a slovenština', p. 15.)

The most striking feature of the post-1989 lexicon is the number of English borrowings, which massively exceed the combined total of all other new loanwords. Most of the Anglicisms that have been introduced have served to fill lexical gaps, although some, such as *power play* (for *přesilová hra*), would seem surplus to requirement. English has been particularly prolific as a lexical donor in areas such as technology (*dévédéčko*/*dývídýčko* [DVD], *spam*), business and economics (*benchmarking*, *merchandising*) and pastimes (*aerobika* [aerobics], *skateboarding*), but it has also contributed to countless other domains. It has likewise extended the use of internationalisms of Latin-Greek and Latin-French origin (*adaptovat* [to adapt], *dramatický* [dramatic]),[57] and has had an impact on phraseology (*mějte hezký den* [have a nice day]). Amongst the doublets considered in *Attitudes* (p. 40) which include functionally redundant English borrowings are *kulturistika* and *bodybuilding*, and *vědecko-fantastický* and *sci-fi.*

Crystal attributes the rise in English as a global language to a combination of political (military), technological, economic and cultural power.[58] In the Czech context, English alone combines popularity, prestige and accessibility with a usefulness which traverses international boundaries and transcends broader ideological considerations. The cultural capital of English is enhanced by its role as

54 See Olga Martincová et al., *Nová slova v češtině. Slovník neologizmů* (Prague, 1988) and *Nová slova v češtině. Slovník neologizmů 2* (Prague, 2004).
55 See Bloomfield, *Language*, p. 444.
56 Květoslava Musilová, 'Slovakismy v současné češtině', in Oldřich Uličný (ed.), *Sborník prací z mezinárodní vědecké konference „Eurolitteraria & Eurolingua"* (Liberec, 2005), pp. 261–66.
57 See Nekula, 'Anglicismy v češtině', p. 262.
58 See, for example, David Crystal, 'The past, present and future of World English', in Andreas Gardt & Bernd Hüppauf (eds), *Globalization and the future of German* (Berlin, 2004), pp. 27–46 (p. 30).

the first foreign language in school, and by the absence of a history of real enmity with the English-speaking world. My own empirical studies confirm the Czechs' positive perception of English. (See especially *Attitudes*, pp. 27–30.) Further consideration is given in chapter 6 to the influence of English, but it is to the less well documented case of Russian that the commentary now turns.

## 4. The contribution of Russian to the Czech lexicon

The role of Russian in the development of Czech vocabulary is not generally appreciated, because Slavonic borrowings fit easily into the morphophonological structure of Czech.[59] The assumption amongst many Czechs is that the Russian contribution is confined mainly to Russian and Soviet phenomena (*vodka*; *kulak*), and to Soviet-imposed realities (*kolektivizace* [collectivization]). Yet, Russian influence has, in fact, been more wide-ranging. 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords', which provides the substance of this chapter, is thus far the only study to look at the full scope of post-nineteenth-century borrowing and to subject it to empirical methods of investigation. There have been three distinct periods when Russian has added noticeably to the broader Czech lexicon: (1) from the end of the eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century (which is largely beyond the remit of my work), (2) during the First World War, and (3) after 1917 and, more especially, between 1945 and 1989.

Pre-twentieth-century (non-cultural) naturalized borrowings, such as *chrabrý* (brave) and *vkus* (taste), were often introduced or popularized in a spirit of pan-Slavonic acculturation, and are usually mistakenly believed to be from an older form of Czech.[60] The second major wave of Russianisms was attributable to the so-called 'Russian Legions' (a disparate body of around 70,000 Czech and Slovak soldiers in Ukraine and Russia during the Great War).[61] Most of the legionaries became disabused of the idea of a Russian-led Slav brotherhood, but they nonetheless adopted a series of neologisms from Russian, including some which have become fixed in the lexicon, such as *komandovat* (to command) and *protivník* (adversary).[62] After the 1917 Russian Revolution, Soviet lexical exoticisms, including *komisař*

59 For a discussion of adaptation processes, see Karel Hausenblas & Jaroslav Kuchař (principal eds), *Čeština za školou* (Prague, 1979), p. 271.

60 For further information and other examples, see G. A. Lilich, *Rol' russkogo yazyka v razvitii slovarnogo sostava cheshskogo literaturnogo yazyka (konets XVIII – nachalo XIX veka)* (Leningrad, 1982), and Vladimír Šmilauer, 'Ruské vlivy na češtinu', *Naše řeč* 25 (3), 1941, pp. 65–69.

61 See, for example, John F. N. Bradley, *The Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, 1914–1920* (New York, 1991), pp. 14 & 156, and Karel Pychlík, *Bez legend* (Prague, 1991).

62 See, for instance, Jan Balhar, 'Rusismy v češtině po Velké říjnové socialistické revoluci do r. 1945', *Universitas* 5, 1985, pp. 31–33, and Igor Němec, 'Česká slova odboje', *Slovo a slovesnost* 61 (4), 2000, pp. 257–75, and 'Jazyk československých legií v Rusku', *Historie a vojenství* 40, 1991, pp. 25–39.

([people's] commissar) and *kolchoz* (kolkhoz), also found their way into Czech vocabulary, but it was not until 1945 that ideologically motivated terms asserted themselves outside left-wing circles.

Following the Communist takeover in 1948, the number of Russianisms increased, but not to the extent that they dramatically reshaped the Czech lexicon. As Daneš puts it, "the influence of Russian on Czech during the Communist regime and oppression was surprisingly not significant (its impact was greatest in the field of political organization and ideology, inconsiderable in specialist and scientific vocabulary, and minimal in everyday communication)."[63] (See 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords', pp. 595–96.) Only in careless translations of Russian was the effect of Russian more insidious, as observed by Kuchař in a surprisingly candid critique of the journal *Týdeník aktualit*, published in 1978.[64] By contrast, the 'Soviet language', as Heller has termed it, which was actively promoted by the powers of state, informed all aspects of public discourse. 'Soviet speak' had a particularly profound effect on official naming practices, especially ergonyms (the titles of establishments and enterprises, such as *Závody Vladimíra Iljiče Lenina* [The Vladimir Ilich Lenin Works]), hodonyms (streets and squares, such as *Stalinova* [Stalin Street]) and oikonyms (buildings, such as *kulturní dům* [house of culture]).[65]

In 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords', I consider all the major classes of post-nineteenth-century borrowing, and supplement my findings with data from my questionnaire (summarized on pp. 637–38), which investigated both people's understanding of, and attitudes to, Russianisms. I identify six principal types of borrowing which have influenced the development of the Czech lexicon since the beginning of the twentieth century: (1) Russian and Soviet terms which underwent little or no semantic change (for example, *bezprizorný* [homeless]), (2) semantic extensions to existing Czech lexical items, based on the Russian model (*distribuce* [Russian: *raspredelenie*, distribution > internal market]), (3) loan translations (*kosmická loď* [Russian *kosmicheskii korabl'*, space ship]) and part-loans, part-calques (*všesvazový* [Russian *vsesoyuznyi*, all-union]), (4) loan transfers (freer or

63 František Daneš, 'Situace a celkový stav dnešní češtiny', in František Daneš et al., *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíceletí* (Prague, 1997), pp. 12–24 (pp. 19–20).
64 Jaroslav Kuchař, 'Rozbor jazyka Týdeníku aktualit', *Naše řeč* 61 (2), 1978, pp. 89–100.
65 See Mikhail Heller, *Cogs in the Soviet Wheel* (London, 1988).

partial translations) (*nadplán* [Russian: *sverkhplanovaya produktsia*, production above the plan]), (5) lexical analogies (terms adopted through contact with Russian or Soviet society, but with no direct reference to the Russian language) (*Gottwaldův řád* [the Order of Gottwald;[66] cf. Russian: *Orden Lenina* – the Order of Lenin]), and (6) 'cultural borrowing' (*dům oddechu* [house of rest]) (pp. 600–601).

'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords' begins with an introduction to pre-Soviet lexical borrowings. It asserts, on the basis of detailed analysis of dictionary entries, that many of the general referents relate to Russian folklore, literature, music and dance; titles and descriptions of people; religion; and food and drink. The descriptors which reveal most about socio-political change are those that have been susceptible to semantic broadening, such as *bolševik* (bolshevik > the Communist Party, government and state structures [especially since 1989]) and *činovník* (high-ranking official in tsarist times > functionary [under Communism] > official [under capitalism]). To take the example of *činovník* – it was cited 355 times in *SYN2000*, but is found just 201 times in *SYN2010*, thereby possibly confirming my informants' impression that it was becoming old-fashioned.

Amongst the points which I accentuate in my study is the extent to which the interpretation of words has changed according to the nature of the regime in power. For instance, the definition of *bolševictví* (later *bolševismus*) (Bolshevism) in *Masarykův slovník naučný* (1925) was unambiguously critical: 'a revolutionary social movement which seeks to change social and economic order through usurping power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the violent expropriation of property.'[67] By way of comparison, it was defined in the first edition of *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (1978) merely as 'the Leninist direction in Russian social democracy, Leninism'.[68] Communist-period publications consistently followed the official Kremlin line in all aspects relating to the establishment of Soviet power. For example, *SSJČ* (1960) defines *menševik* (menshevik) as: 'a member or supporter of an opportunistic faction of the Russian Social Democrat Party after its split in 1903'.

In the next part of the article, I focus on the linguistic legacy of the First World

66 Klement Gottwald (1896–1953; President of Czechoslovakia, 1948–1953)
67 Jan Dvořáček et al., *Masarykův slovník naučný* (Prague, 1925–1933), Vol. 1.
68 Josef Filipec & František Daneš (principal eds), *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (Prague, 1978).

War and the Russian Revolution. Once again, interpretations of this period have varied significantly since 1918, with the dictionary definitions from the Communist era perpetuating a Manichean opposition between good and bad. Amongst the manifold enemies of the Soviet state were the kulaks, as evidenced in the illustration of *kulactvo v SSSR* (the kulaks in the USSR) in *Příruční slovník naučný* (1963) (hereafter, *PSN*): 'At the time of the Civil War, 1918–1920, the kulaks, who had significant supplies of food, tried to starve out the young Soviet Republic'.[69]

Several of the terms relating to the Russian revolution and the civil war, including *krásnoarmějec*/*rudoarmějec* (member of the Red Army) and *gvardějec*/*krasnogvardějec* (member of the Red Guard), were originally regarded as legionary slang. This area of language, which constituted a specific, semi-ironic sociolect, and was popularized by legionary fiction, had a far greater effect on the Czech lexicon than was officially acknowledged between 1938 and 1989.[70] The German occupation forces sought to write the legionaries out of history altogether, while the post-war Czechoslovak authorities acknowledged their existence, but increasingly played down their political and lexical contribution. The official line after 1948, as expressed in *PSN* (1963), was that 'the majority of the legionaries [...] took part in the Civil War in Russia on the side of the counter-revolutionaries'. Little or no mention was made of their role in the foundation of the Czechoslovak state, and referents which had been immortalized in the historiography of the First Republic, such as *bitva u Zborova* (Battle of Zborov) and *sibiřská anabase* (the Siberian Anabasis), became little more than marginalia. It is only since 1989 that the role of the legionaries has been fully recognized once again.[71]

The main purpose of the 'legionisms' in literature was to provide local coloration, as evidenced by the use of exoticisms such as *rubaška* (battledress blouse) and *válenky* (high felt boots). Many of the terms adopted were functionally superfluous; for example, near-identical Russianisms (*dobrovolci* [volunteers] for *dobrovolníci*), semantically related loanwords (*drug* [friend] [Czech *druh* =

69 Vladimír Procházka (principal ed.), *Příruční slovník naučný* (Prague, 1962–1966), Vol. 2.
70 The role of the legionary writers, especially Hašek, is discussed by Mikoláš Zatovkaňuk, 'Haškovy rusismy v Osudech dobrého vojáka Švejka', *Naše řeč* 64 (3), 1981, pp. 124–32.
71 See, for example, Victor Miroslav Fic, *Československé legie v Rusku a boj za vznik Československa 1914–1918* (Prague, 2006–2008).

companion]), morphological false friends (*úžasný* [awful] [Czech = amazing], *žalování* [soldier's pay] [Czech = sneaking]) and phonological anachronisms (*pašol* [shove off] with final-syllable stress). Others were motivated by humour: *gramotnej* (literate [person]), used to depict a soldier who avoided front-line action, and *rváč* (literally: 'thug') < Russian *vrach* (doctor), to denote a field surgeon.[72]

Most of the legionary borrowings related directly to life in the army. Amongst the extant terms used by the soldiers were *běženec* (deserter), *nálet* (air-raid), *pěchota* (infantry), *rozvědka* (espionage) and *zemljanka* (dug-out, bunker), as well as internationalisms adopted via Russian, such as *batalion* (battalion) and *konvoj* (convoy).[73] Loan translations which have become part of the standard army lexicon include *kulomet* (machine-gun) (< *pulomet*) and *vlčí jáma* (foxhole) (< *volch'ya yama*). A number of more general lexical items have also been attributed to the legionaries; for instance, *proletariát* (working class) and *souputník* (compatriot), which later came to denote a 'fellow-traveller'.

The third major stage of Russian lexical borrowing began with the so-called 'socialization' (*socializace*) of Czechoslovakia after 1945, which reflected a turning-point in Czechoslovakia's international relations. The ideological reorientation towards the USSR heralded a dramatic increase in Soviet concepts such as *agitka* (propaganda piece), *kombinát* (industrial complex; plant) and *platforma* (ideological platform). In 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords' (p. 596), I argue that, after 1948, all the prerequisites existed for lexical change 'from above', but that initial enthusiasm for things Russian/Soviet 'from below' soon gave way to apathy and even antipathy. Many Czechs and Slovaks came to view active engagement with the Russian-speaking world as tantamount to endorsing the regime which they reviled. Others simply saw Russian as an unfashionable language, which offered them little in the way of cultural interest or personal advancement. Unlike English today, Russian failed to provide the opportunity of significant upward mobility or other projected gain, which have been identified as primary motivations for language change by Labov and Winter, et al.[74] Russian influence therefore remained largely

72 See Němec, 'Česká slova odboje', pp. 259–71.
73 For a discussion of *pěchota*, see Dušan Šlosar, *Tisíciletá* (Prague, 1990), p. 78.
74 See William Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors* (Oxford, 1999) pp. 300–309, (Vol. 1), and Werner Winter, 'Areal linguistics: some general considerations', in Thomas A.

restricted to the three areas of public life most closely associated with Communist ideology – politics, economics and national security.

Amongst the morphological loanwords in the political sphere were *čistka* (purge), which has more recently come to mean '[ethnic] cleansing', *diverzant* (enemy agent), *instruktáž* (coaching; political teach-in) and *kontrarozvědka* (counter-espionage). In the early 1950s, leading Communist functionaries borrowed directly from Russian in order to draw attention to their pro-Soviet credentials, as illustrated by Gottwald's predilection for *bolševická zákalka* (= *zakalení*) (Bolshevik steeling) and *složná otázka* (= *složitá*) (a complex question).[75] Kosatík identifies Kopecký as one of the principal apparatchiks who left his mark on the lexicon, with Soviet-inspired words such as *suchar* (< *sukhar'*) (cold detached person) and *titovština* (Titoism).[76]

Statistically, most of the Russian influence was more covert. Much of the borrowing relating to politics took the form of loan translations, such as *stranické orgány* (< *partiinye organy*) (party organs) and *třídnost* (< *klassovost'*) (class consciousness). Occasionally, neologisms were also calqued on Russian stump-compounds; for example, *agitační středisko* (< *agitpunkt*) (agitation and propaganda centre). Elsewhere, Czech adopted sociocultural semantic extensions based on Russian usage, as in *družba* (Russian: *druzhba*) (best man/matchmaker > friendly relations between institutions) and *kádry* (*kadry*) (military cadres > Party organization workers, political cadres).

Many of the Soviet-inspired (but not specifically Russian) political neologisms reflected class consciousness: *dělnický stát* (workers' state), *proletářská revoluce* (proletarian revolution) and *třídní uvědomění* (class awareness). Others took on a more sinister hue in the context of the omnipotent one-party state, including *antisovětismus* (anti-Sovietism), *oportunismus* ([anti-Marxist-Leninist] opportunism) and *třídní boj*/*nenávist*/*nepřítel* (class struggle/hatred/enemy).

Borrowing relating to economic innovation can again be divided into overt and

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Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics. Volume 11: Diachronic, Areal and Typological Linguistics* (The Hague, 1973), pp. 135–48.

75 See František Trávníček, 'Síla a krása Gottwaldova slova', *Naše řeč* 36 (5–6), 1953, pp. 139–47 (pp. 146–47).

76 Václav Kopecký (1897–1961; Minister of Information and Culture, 1945–1953). Kosatík, *České snění*, p. 315.

covert forms.[77] Words taken directly from Russian, with little morphological adaptation, included *prostoj* (idle time), *stachanovština* (work in the Stakhanovite tradition) and *šturmovština* (last-minute rushed work). Several well-known terms initially attributable to Soviet influence were likewise subject to semantic broadening, including *brigáda* (brigade > workteam > temporary job) and *prověrka* [*pracovišť*] (inspection [of the workplace] > [political] screening > [school] test). Amongst the innumerable calques in the economic domain were *člověkohodina* (< *cheloveko-chas*) (man hour), *přední pracovník* (< *peredovik*) (leading worker) and *socialistické soutěžení* (< *sotsialisticheskoe sorevnovanie*) (socialist competition).[78]

Perhaps the area of human experience most strongly influenced by Russian was life in the forces. Czech had adopted some military terms during the Second World War, such as *kalašnikov* (kalashnikov), *lavočka* (Soviet fighter plane) and *samochodný* (self-propelled), but their number increased significantly after 1948. Well-known examples from the socialist period included *protivzdušný* (anti-air), *rozborka* (dismantling [a gun]), *sborka* (assembling [a gun]) and the English–Russian hybrid *trenýrovka* (training), of which only *protivzdušný* is still in common currency.[79]

Contrary to popular perception, there were also some Communist-era loanwords and calques which were not obviously ideologically motivated. Amongst the borrowings in this category are several extant terms whose origins are far from conspicuous, such as *autopark* (fleet of cars), *konspekt* (abstract) and *polárník* (polar explorer). The provenance of bisemous and polysemous loanwords, including *bleskovka* (adopted in the sense of 'news flash'), *estráda* ('variety show') and *suchar*, is even less transparent. Similarly opaque are the origins of non-Slavonic root words which entered Czech via Russian, including the Anglicisms *dispečer* (< *dispatcher*) (traffic controller) and *kontejner* (container).

Perhaps the least readily perceptible aspect of Russian influence relates to the use of abbreviations and adjectival compounds. After 1948, there was a proliferation

77 For an overview of the changes in work structures in the early Communist period, see Václav Křístek, 'Pracovní proces a vývoj jazyka', *Naše řeč* 35 (1–2), 1951–1952, pp. 1–7.
78 See Zdeňka Sochová & Jitka Štindlová, 'K novým ekonomickým termínům typu „člověkohodina"', *Naše řeč* 36 (7–8), 1953, pp. 207–12.
79 See Vladimír Mejstřík, 'Z knih, časopisů a novin: Jazykové sloupky v Lidové armádě', *Naše řeč* 46 (5), 1963, pp. 263–65.

of initialisms and acronyms, including *SNB* (*Sbor národní bezpečnosti*) (Committee of National Security), later *VB* (*Veřejná Bezpečnost*) ('Public Security' – the police) and *VUML* (*Večerní univerzita marxismu-leninismu*) (Evening University for Marxism-Leninism). At the same time, hyphenated phrases (with final *–o* in the initial element), such as *hospodářsko-technický* (economic and technical) and *vědecko-ateistický* (scientific atheist), also became commonplace.[80]

Ironically, there was a small group of Russianisms widely used in opposition circles, which were largely taboo in official parlance, including *disident*(*ka*) (dissident), *gulag*, *kágébák* (member of the KGB) and *samizdat*. Other Russian terms, such as *chozrasčot* (khozraschet, a form of self-financing), made only periodic public appearances. In the late 1980s, lip-service was paid to *glasnost* and *perestrojka* (perestroika), whence the calques *veřejná informovanost* (keeping the public informed) and *hospodářská reforma*/*přestavba* (economic reform/restructuring), but in reality discussion of substantive change was not officially encouraged.[81]

The evidence of my survey for 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords' and data from ČNK show that Czechs regularly use both pre-Soviet Russianisms, such as *běženec* and *pěchota*, and also selected borrowings from the Soviet period, including *bezprizorný* and *instruktáž*. Even a few expressions associated primarily with socialism, including *pohraničník* (border guard) and *požárník* (fireman), have maintained a presence in the lexicon. All except five of the terms cited in my questionnaire (*konspekt*, *normohodina*, *obezličky* [buck-passing], *okop* [trench] and *samochodný*) have an ARF rank in the top 50,000 in *FSČ*. Furthermore, six (*čistka*, *kontejner*, *kontrarozvědka*, *nálet*, *operativní* [operational] and *prověrka*) have an ARF in the first 10,000. Several other Russian loanwords, such as *brigáda*, *manévry* (manoeuvres) and *rozvědka*, are also found in the top 10,000. (See 'Twentieth-century Russian loanwords', p. 635.)

I broadly conclude that it was not the existence of Russianisms per se which so

80 See Miloš Dokulil, 'Vliv ruštiny na ostatní spisovné slovanské jazyky v sovětské epoše', *Sovětská jazykověda* 5 (3), 1955, pp. 161–75 (p. 172), and Miloslava Knappová, 'Politickoekonomický, nebo politicko-ekonomický?' *Naše řeč* 54 (3), 1971, pp. 141–56.
81 See Josef Filipec, 'Naše současná společnost, slovní zásoba a slovníky', *Naše řeč* 75 (1), 1992, pp. 1–21 (p. 5).

upset the Czechs under Communism, but their association with domains heavily influenced by Soviet dogma. Most people felt that their destiny was once again being defined by outside forces, with Russian speakers now replacing the Germans as their masters. The compulsory study of Russian in school and the influence of Marxism-Leninism on all aspects of public life were a constant reminder that the system was externally imposed. The overthrow of Communism was thus seen in terms of the reassertion of national self-determination or, to use Wertsch's terms of reference, the 'Triumph-Over-Enemy-Forces' Narrative Template.[82] There was, however, little need to 'decontaminate' the lexicon of Russian influence after 1989, as happened with German during the National Revival, since direct borrowing had been relatively limited under socialism, and most of the Soviet-inspired terms simply became functionally redundant. Those Russianisms that have remained have, for the most part, been naturalized, and are now regarded as standard Czech, untainted by their provenance.

82 See J. V. Wertsch, *Voices of Collective Remembering* (New York, 2002), pp. 99–101.

## 5. Czech–Slovak language relations

Czech–Slovak language contacts have inevitably been more extensively documented than those between Czech and Russian. This chapter is informed both by the scholarship available at the time of writing 'Češi a slovenština', and also by new works, including a significant tome by Nábělková.[83] Nábělková considers inter-ethnic contact since 1993, including the communicative strategies employed by speakers of Czech and Slovak, and perceptive and productive bilingualism.

The uniqueness of my contribution resides in the synthesis of my own empirical data with other sources of academic and quantitative information, especially Tejnor's questionnaire and three large European Union surveys of language acquisition.[84] As elsewhere, I am less concerned with the formal aspects of linguistic analysis, such as semiotic systems, areal features and structure, than the socio-political implications of usage, and people's perceptions of the status and functions of language.

'Češi a slovenština' and, to a lesser extent, 'Czech titles', serve to highlight the difficulty of determining the symbiotic relationship between two geographically contiguous national tongues, whose speakers' identity reflects both their historical and cultural-linguistic commonality and their distinctiveness. 'Češi a slovenština' is divided into five sections: (1) the background to Czech–Slovak linguistic contacts, (2) varieties of Czech and Slovak, (3) defining the status of Slovak, (4) qualitative aspects of Czech–Slovak discourse, and (5) contextual aspects of Czech–Slovak discourse. The opening section outlines the asymmetrical nature of Czech–Slovak relations, and the imposition of the ill-defined Czechoslovak language (*československenština*/*jazyk československý*), within the First Republic policy of Czechoslovakism (*čechoslovakismus*).[85] The second section reflects in detail on language variation within the former Czechoslovakia, with a particular emphasis on

83 Mira Nábělková, *Slovenčina a čeština v kontakte* (Bratislava & Prague, 2008).
84 See *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe*, Brussels, 2005. <http://www.eurydice.org/ressources/eurydice/pdf/0_integral/049EN.pdf>, *Europeans and Languages*, Brussels, 2005. <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_237.en.pdf>, and *Europeans and their Languages*, Prague, 2006. <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_sum_en.pdf>.
85 See, for example, David Short, 'The Use and Abuse of the Language Argument in Mid-Nineteenth-Century "Czechoslovakism"', in Robert B. Pynsent (ed.), *The Literature of Nationalism* (Basingstoke & London, 1996), pp. 40–65, Jan Rychlík, 'Čechoslovanství a čechoslovakismus', in Koschmal et al., *Češi a Němci*, pp. 64–71, and Alexander Maxwell, *Choosing Slovakia. Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism* (London & New York, 2009).

the Moravian–Slovak 'dialect' continuum and the role of Moravianisms as a constraint against the expansion of *obecná čeština* as a Czech spoken standard.[86] The third considers the absence amongst Czech and Slovak speakers of a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety of language. Part four addresses Haugen's concept of 'semicommunication',[87] and evaluates the Czechs' passive and active knowledge of Slovak. The final section discusses the contexts in which Czechs employ Slovak, and concludes that most Czechs make relatively little linguistic accommodation when addressing their easterly neighbour.

'Češi a slovenština' stresses that the role of Czech in the development of Slovak has always been greater than the influence of Slovak on Czech. *Spisovná čeština* helped to shape Slovak from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century, as a result of religious and educational contact, and both spoken and written Czech continued to inform the Slovak lexicon throughout much of the twentieth century. If intelligibility were the sole criterion for defining the foreignness of another tongue, Czech and Slovak would be universally recognized as dialects of the same (hypothetical) language with its epicentre perhaps somewhere in eastern Moravia, rather than as semi-independent entities within the west Slavonic language group. As Pynsent has observed, "The difference between the Czech and Slovak languages is probably smaller than that between standard English [...] and Lallans".[88] However, if ethnolinguistic considerations and the social functions of language are given a higher priority, the Slovaks can justly claim to speak a fully-fledged *Ausbausprache*. Prior to the twentieth century, Czech linguists tended to accentuate the shared origins of Czech and Slovak, which they sometimes attributed to their common roots in Proto Czech (*pračeština*), but many Slovaks objected to this interpretation both because it implicitly reinforced Czech linguistic superiority and because it ignored the preponderance of Germanisms in Czech. Some Slovak scholars, such as Samuel Czambel (1856–1909), went so far as to argue that Slovak was, in fact, a southern

86 See Ondřej Bláha, 'Moravský jazykový separatismus: zdroje, cíle, slovanský kontext', *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Facultas philosophica* 3, 2005, pp. 293–99 (p. 297).
87 Einar Haugen, 'Dialect, language, nation', *American Anthropologist* 68 (4), 1966, pp. 922–35. See also Viera Budovičová, 'Semikomunikácia ako lingvistický problém', in Jozef Mistrík (ed.), *Studia Academica Slovaca* (Bratislava, 1987), pp. 49–66, and 'Semikomunikácia ako faktor medzijazykovej dynamiky', in Radoslava Brabcová & František Štícha (eds), *Dynamika současné češtiny z hlediska lingvistické teorie a školské praxe* (Prague, 1988), pp. 45–54.
88 Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, p. 156.

Slavonic language, that had been contaminated by Bohemianisms.[89]

The very notion of a Czechoslovak language, enshrined in the 1920 Language Law, was predicated on the assumption that Czech and Slovak contained a sufficient body of near-identical features to constitute a linguistic whole. In geopolitical terms, it made sense in the early twentieth century to present Czech and Slovak as offshoots of the same language spoken by the two branches of the 'Czechoslovak nation', but the Czecho-centric nature of the linguistic compromise subsequently alienated many Slovaks. Not only was *československenština* an unsatisfactorily imprecise construct, but implicit in its conception was the understanding that Czech would function as the *Dachsprache* for both the Czechs and the Slovaks,[90] whereas the Slovaks would adopt a kind of 'interlanguage'. In practice, Czech enjoyed far greater prestige than Slovak in the education system,[91] and Slovak was accorded the status of a heteronomous language in matters relating to affairs of the state and central administration.

The decision, after the war, to abandon the policy of Czechoslovakism and its unified language was never seriously challenged, although Slovak grievances over centralism persisted.[92] The full extent of post-war Slovak discontent only became apparent in the 1960s, when the Slovaks sought to redefine their relations with the Czechs, with a view to achieving greater self-determination. Federalization in October 1968 went some way to overcoming the Slovaks' sense of subordination, but proved insufficient to prevent the dissolution of the Czechoslovak state in 1993.

So thoroughly has the concept of Czechoslovakism been consigned to history that most of the 1,126 informants consulted in 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 14) claimed never to have heard of either *čechoslovakismus* or *československenština*. Communist-era publications dismissed *československenština* as a pre-socialist anachronism, as evidenced by the definition in *SSJČ*: '(formerly in the bourgeois nationalist conception) the single, in reality non-existent, language of the Czechs and Slovaks in its dual literary,

89 See, for example, Kosatík, *České snění*, p. 301.
90 Heinz Kloss, 'Abstand and Ausbau Languages', *Anthropological Linguistics* 9 (7), 1967, pp. 29–41.
91 See Martina Šmejkalová, 'Jazyk československý na českých a slovenských školách mezi učebními osnovami z let 1919 a 1927', *Slovo a slovesnost* 66 (1), 2005, pp. 32–47, *Čeština a škola – úryvky skrytých dějin* (Prague, 2010), pp. 32–48, and Tilman Berger, 'Slovaks in Czechia – Czechs in Slovakia', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 162, 2003, pp. 19–39 (p. 24).
92 See, for example, Skilling, *Czechoslovakia's Interrupted Revolution*, pp. 8-10.

Czech and Slovak, form'.[93] Nowadays, some people (22% in my survey) interpret *československenština* in the more modern sense of code-switching, of the type adopted by ex-president Gustáv Husák (1913–1991) (p. 14). The notion of a 'Czechoslovak' identity may have enjoyed marginally greater acceptance than that of a Czechoslovak language, but the noun *Čechoslovák* (Czechoslovak) has only ever had limited applications, as illustrated in 'Czech titles' (pp. 415–16).[94]

Czechs and Slovaks who have had reasonable contact with each other's language generally experience few sentence-level communication problems, although Slovaks may be at an advantage owing to the greater dialectal uniformity of Czech. The spread of *obecná čeština* throughout Bohemia and western Moravia has led to the virtual extinction of most of the traditional Czech dialects, except those spoken in central and eastern Moravia, whose proximity to western Slovak dialects renders them easily accessible to Slovak speakers. By contrast, Slovak dialects have not yet merged into universally recognized macrodialects, with the result that some of the regional varieties (especially eastern Slovak dialects) can present significant comprehension difficulties to Czechs.

Of the 589 informants who expressed an opinion in 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 16), only a negligible majority – 289 (49%) versus 282 (48%) – considered the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak to be greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech. In Bohemia, most people deemed eastern Moravian dialects to be closer to Slovak than to Czech, whereas in much of Moravia, especially nearer the border with Slovakia, people felt strongly that eastern Moravian dialects are closer to their national language than to Slovak. The desire of central-eastern/eastern Moravians to emphasize their linguistic ties with their fellow Czechs represents an important symbolic reaffirmation of the historical bonds which unite the Czech-speaking community. In the Czech context, where nationality and alterity have been defined largely in terms of language usage, the normative imperative to establish belonging overrides more subtle considerations of trans-border linguistic identity.

93 Havránek, *SSJČ*, 1960, Vol. 1.
94 My article draws on Mira Nábělková & Marián Sloboda, 'Comparing "Trasjanka" and "Československenčina" (Czechoslovak) as Discursive Categories', courtesy of Marián Sloboda, pp. 1–26 (p. 10).

The Czechs' current attitude to the status of Slovak is ambivalent. On the one hand, they are keen to observe a clear distinction between Czech and Slovak, in recognition of Slovak as the fully codified, national language of an independent republic. On the other hand, they do not always treat Slovak as an altogether 'foreign' language, either in private or official discourse. For example, in European documentation on foreign language knowledge, the Czechs exclude reference to Slovak, even though the evidence of 'Perceptions' confirms that most Czechs have a better command of Slovak than of any other foreign tongue (p. 58).[95]

More than one in five of my interviewees (21%) in 'Perceptions', cited in 'Češi a slovenština' (pp. 18–19), claimed to understand and speak Slovak very well, 40% replied that they understood it well, but did not speak it very well, and 29% said that they had good comprehension skills, but could only speak it with difficulty. Over 90% of the informants boasted at least a passive knowledge of Slovak, while the percentage of speakers claiming some active skills in Slovak rose from 12% in Tejnor's 1971 survey to 61% in 2005, as a consequence of government policies to promote Slovak after 1968 (pp. 18–19). It is telling that the two groups with the lowest level of competence in 'Perceptions' were the under 20 year-olds and over 60 year-olds, who may be loosely described as the pre-1968 and post-1993 generations. Only 10% of the informants in the 15–19 age range claimed fluency in Slovak, while 31% asserted (implausibly) that they do not know the language at all. Fewer than half the youngest interviewees (41%) said that they had any active knowledge of Slovak, compared with over 74% of the 45–59 year-olds (p. 20).

In 'Češi a slovenština' (pp. 17–18), I attribute the Czechs' ambivalence to the status of Slovak to four main factors: (1) the feeling amongst older Czechs that Slovak contributed significantly to the notion of 'Czechoslovak' nationhood, and therefore forms part of a collective identity (albeit loosely defined and subordinate to ethnic affiliation), (2) the existence of close kinship ties and other personal connections with Slovakia, (3) the proximity of Slovak lexis, morphology and phonology to Czech, and (4) the tendency amongst middle-aged Czechs, in particular, to underplay the extent to which their knowledge of Slovak is the product of exposure over time.

95 See *Europeans and their Languages*, p. 13.

Despite the dissolution of Czechoslovakia in 2003, the Czechs remain well disposed towards the Slovaks and their language. In November 2009, 35% of the Czech population continued to view the break-up of Czechoslovakia negatively, while 73% felt that relations were either better than or the same as before.[96] According to the latest surveys for CVVM, conducted in November and December 2010, 94% of Czechs think that relations with Slovakia are either good or very good, and the Slovaks remain by some margin the Czechs' favourite foreign nationality.[97] In 'Perceptions', 36% of the informants cited Slovak as the language to which they relate most positively, including 51% of those in the 45–59 year age range (p. 29).

The structural and genetic similarities between Czech and Slovak were acknowledged by virtually all my informants in 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 17), with 95% of those questioned agreeing that they are either very or quite close. Such is the proximity of the two languages that their morphophonological differences rarely, if ever, present an obstacle to lexical replacement, and contact forms are often so readily naturalized that their provenance is forgotten. In my study (p. 15), 65% of the interviewees claimed to have no recourse whatever to Slovakisms, 10% said that they employed them from time to time, and 20% maintained that they exploit them for comic effect. In reality, most Czech speakers probably use at least some expressions which have been influenced by Slovak, and all Slovaks use a range of Czech-root words.

Musilová has recently studied eighteen common lexical items which she attributes to language contact, including the Slovak expressions *bitkař* (bully), *horko těžko* (with great difficulty), *kávička* (coffee), *lyžovačka* (skiing) and *natěšený* (elated), and two post-1989 non-contact slang terms from Czech and Slovak: *krimoška* (detective film, story) and *kuklač* (member of a police emergency unit). On the basis of her survey of students in higher education and data from ČNK, she concludes that several of the Slovakisms, such as *horko-těžko*, *namyšlený*, *natěšený* and *rozlučka*, remain quite common, while the position of others has strengthened

96 Markéta Škodová, 'Názory obyvatel na rozdělení Československa', Prague, 2010, pp. 1–4 (pp. 3–4). <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/100975s_po91203.pdf>.
97 Jan Červenka, 'Občané o vztazích ČR s některými zeměmi – listopad 2010', Prague, 2010, pp. 1–4 (p. 1). <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101081s_pm101221a.pdf>, and 'Vztah Čechů k vybraným národnostem – prosinec 2010', Prague, 2010, pp. 1–3 (p. 2). <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101094s_ov110131.pdf>.

since 2004; for instance, *bitkař*, *kávička* and *lyžovačka*.[98]

The question of the quality of Czech–Slovak discourse depends on numerous contextual and situational factors. The Slovaks' greater exposure to Czech through the media, the arts and higher education, as well as literature and other written materials, generally ensures that they are more functionally proficient at Czech than vice versa. Many Czechs are also in regular touch with Slovak through personal contacts,[99] foreign travel, and radio and television, but the input tends to be more sporadic. Of the 781 informants in 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 18) who expressed a view on the respective skills of the Czechs and Slovaks in each other's language, 109 (14%) suggested that Czechs speak better Slovak, 230 (30%) said that Slovaks speak better Czech, and 442 (57%) regarded their language competences as roughly comparable.

The negotiating processes which inform Czech–Slovak communication are similarly varied, but Slovak speakers are the more likely to make concessions to their interlocutors. Most Czechs stick largely to their own language when addressing Slovaks, both because they feel it to be the most efficient way to fulfil the principal functions of speech (in Hymes' model: expressive, directive, referential, poetic, phatic and metalinguistic),[100] and for fear of making mistakes resulting from over-generalization. Under 8% of the informants in 'Perceptions' said that they talk or write to people in Slovak on a daily or weekly basis, while 5% claimed to use Slovak every week at work, although 18% tuned into Slovak stations once a week or more. (See *Attitudes*, pp. 58–59.) According to 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 22), 63% of Czechs who have Slovak relatives address them principally in their own language, and over a quarter either code-mix or change languages depending on circumstances, but just 8% speak mainly Slovak.

The mutual intelligibility of Czech and Slovak has often been taken as axiomatic, yet the problems which Slovak can pose to Czech children and to non-native speakers of Czech suggest that even receptive bilingualism requires a degree

98 Květoslava Musilová, 'Slovakismy v současné češtině (sociolingvistický průzkum mezi vysokoškoláky)', in *Vidy jazykovedy* (Prešov, 20–21 May 2010), pp. 389–96.
99 42% of my informants in 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 17) claimed to have Slovak acquaintances, while 18% said that they have Slovak relatives.
100 Dell Hymes, 'Functions of speech: an evolutionary approach', in Frederick C. Gruber (ed.), *Anthropology and Education* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp. 55–83.

of sustained, if unsystematic, exposure to the other tongue. The 'code noise' which characterizes Haugen's 'semicommunication', discussed in 'Češi a slovenština' (p. 18), may, in certain circumstances, represent a barrier to comprehension. Zeman has also identified the lack of sufficiently consistent sociocultural knowledge as a factor which impedes speakers' understanding of closely-related languages.[101] Nábělková summarizes the situation pertaining to Czech and Slovak today as follows: "perceptive bilingualism, which had been regarded so natural that it was even considered bilingualism by the language users in the Czech–Slovak territory [...], now appears to be considered a specific ability".[102]

Most of my informants in 'Češi a slovenština' concurred with the hypothesis that Slovak language competence is declining. Over three-quarters of my interviewees felt that the younger generation understands Slovak less well than their counterparts did ten years earlier, and just 15% of those questioned identified an improvement in their own comprehension (pp. 19–20). There was also a commonly-held perception that active skills in Slovak are no longer so widely required and, perhaps as a consequence, have deteriorated in all age groups. When asked whether they speak Slovak more or less frequently and better or worse than ten years ago, fewer than 5% replied that they speak it more often, and just under 7% maintained that their spoken Slovak had improved (p. 20).

Given the strength of the bonds which still unite Czechs and Slovaks, and the number of common lexical, syntactic and phonological features in their languages, it seems improbable that speakers will lose altogether those elements of their sociocultural identity that they share, or their ability to communicate with a high degree of functional efficiency. Nonetheless, it seems likely that the gap between the two linguistic communities will widen, and that people's ability to grasp the subtleties and implicatures of their neighbour's tongue will continue to deteriorate.

101 Jiří Zeman, 'K přijímání slovenské kultury Čechy po rozpadu Československa', in Slavomír Ondrejovič (ed.), *Slovenčina na konci 20. storočia, jej normy a perspektivy* (Bratislava, 1997), pp. 182–86.

102 Mira Nábělková, 'Closely-related languages in contact: Czech, Slovak, "Czechoslovak"', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 183, 2007, pp. 53–73 (p. 56).

## 6. Public perceptions of lexical borrowing and foreign languages

In chapter 6 of this commentary, which is based largely on the evidence of *Attitudes*, I turn my attention away from language-specific case studies to more general interpretations of loanwords and calques, and foreign languages. Inevitably, many of the questions posed by my survey 'Perceptions' reflect the impact of English since 1989, but my aim is to present a broader picture of Czechs' perspectives on the role of the 'foreign' in the context of language development. 'Perceptions' is the most detailed and statistically significant investigation into borrowing since Tejnor's 1970 study, and is the only one so far to attempt a systematic overview of changes in attitudes over the period.[103]

Much of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of my own empirical data, although, as I acknowledge in *Attitudes* (p. 18), people's responses to questionnaires do not necessarily correlate directly either with their own language use or with how society reacts to foreign language influences in practice. Neustupný draws a clear distinction between the actual correction processes which occur in discourse and the way they are referred to in metalinguistic statements of the puristic idiom, as well as between the idiom itself and the ideologies which accompany the correction processes.[104] In the absence of the type of heightened puristic sentiment which was prevalent during the National Revival and which, according to Jakobson, remained a potential obstacle to social progress well into the First Republic,[105] discourse will inevitably succumb to some of the pressures of more dominant contact languages.

The expression of a generalized distaste for the overuse and misuse of loanwords articulated by my informants in 'Perceptions' at most only affects the margins of language development. The Czechs are now sufficiently confident about their role in the world to be able to view external forces with a dispassion which has been largely absent throughout their history. Over half (56%) of my interviewees felt that the principal lexical donor – English – does not threaten their language, and a similar number (57%), including 76% of the 15–29 year-olds and 69% of graduates, considered it a suitable lexifier, compared with figures for German, Russian and

103 For an overview of the principal findings of my questionnaire, see pages 57 to 63 of *Attitudes*.
104 Neustupný, 'Language purism […]', pp. 211–23.
105 Jakobson, 'O dnešním brusičství českém', p. 121.

other Slavonic languages (including Slovak) of 39%, 25% and 34%, respectively (pp. 28–29). After Slovak, English is the language to which Czechs react most positively, with nearly 39% identifying it as one of their favourite two foreign tongues (pp. 29–30). Most of my sample attributed the success of English to tourism (91%), globalization (84%), American culture (81%) and European culture (75%), respectively (p. 30), and 89% thought non-speakers of English to be at a disadvantage (p. 27). As elsewhere in Europe, English is associated with modernity, opportunity and progress. The European Commission's multilingualism policy seems to have played a significant role in promoting both English and German, although it is not possible to quantify the impact of the policy on language planning.[106]

The principal dependent variables in people's interpretation of foreign influences identified by 'Perceptions' are age and education, with the elderly, especially men, proving most resistant to lexical borrowing, and the young, particularly graduates, amongst the most indulgent. The strong tendency of older people to reject loanwords may reflect a combination of factors, including 'non-rational' motivations (relating loosely to the role of national consciousness) and more 'rational' motivations (in particular the intelligibility argument). 'Non-rational' motivations may have been informed by the greater exposure of the elderly to post-war monoculturalism, and by the well-attested sociolinguistic phenomenon of age-grading.[107] By contrast, more 'rational' motivations may reflect the limited opportunity for the elderly to study foreign languages other than Russian and a sense that they are being marginalized by change. An unknown factor here is the degree to which speakers distinguish between opposition to foreign neologisms on the grounds of their 'foreignness' and their 'newness', and whether any such distinction is observed more systematically amongst different groups of people.

Perhaps the most striking finding of 'Perceptions' is the strength of resistance to lexical borrowing amongst older men, which appears to contradict the sociolinguistic axiom that women's language instincts are more conservative than men's.[108] While 62% of men aged 45–60 and 77% of men over 60 years old regarded the number of

106 See *Europeans and their Languages*.
107 See, for example, Ralph Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (Oxford, 1993), p. 215.
108 See, for example, Jennifer Coates, *Women, Men and Language* (London & New York, 1993), pp. 61–86.

foreign terms as excessive, the figures for women in the same age ranges were 42.5% and 58%, respectively (p. 19). Again it is not possible to offer a definitive explanation for this finding, although it confirms the importance of bearing in mind the interaction of sociolinguistic variables, rather than taking them in isolation.[109]

A surprising amount of the data obtained by Tejnor was corroborated by 'Perceptions', including the following: loanwords are overused in certain domains (such as the media); nearly half the informants regard foreign phrases as indispensable (48% in Tejnor's survey and 46% in 'Perceptions') (p. 38); opposition to borrowing is nonetheless deeply ingrained; passive knowledge of foreign vocabulary is better than active knowledge; colloquialisms in the media are commonly rejected; people's understanding of foreign words is inadequate; and, the functional necessity of borrowing is widely recognized. Amongst the other significant findings cited in *Attitudes* are: almost half of the interviewees (48%) think that Czech has too many foreign words, while slightly fewer (44.5%) believe the number to be about right (p. 19); more of my informants consider that borrowing impoverishes the language rather than enriches it (47% vs. 38.5%) (p. 21); foreign technological terms now cause greatest difficulty, with over 67% claiming that they encounter problems in this area either frequently or all the time (p. 26); English enjoys especially high prestige amongst donor languages (pp. 28–29); nearly three-quarters (73.5%) of my sample feel that other Czechs employ too many redundant foreign words (pp. 31–32); and, the principal function ascribed to lexical borrowing (by 41% of all my interviewees) is the desire to show off (p. 34). The overall impression to emerge is that loanwords are viewed negatively where they are surplus to requirements, or where their perceived intention is to exclude other language users or to suggest a degree of linguistic superiority, which runs counter to the Czech demotic 'egalitarian ethos'.[110] On the other hand, most people (61%) accept the need for foreign terms to fill lexical gaps, as in the case of *internet* (p. 39), while even more (80%) endorse internationalisms which serve to enhance understanding between peoples, such as *WC*/*toaleta* for *záchod* (toilet) (p. 61).

109 This point has been made by, amongst others, Paul Kerswill, *Dialects Converging: Rural Speech in Urban Norway* (Oxford, 1994), p. 54.
110 See, for example, Ladislav Holy, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 72.

The extent to which loanwords are deliberately used to exclude certain sectors of society is a matter for debate, although there is a widely-held view that language serves the interests of privileged groups. Social constructionists, for instance, argue that questions of power, as reflected in linguistic conventions and norms, ultimately determine how we see ourselves and the world around us.[111] The French sociologist Bourdieu has similarly highlighted the role of language in reinforcing the 'symbolic power' of the elite, while the ethnolinguist Saville-Troike has noted that "Power is not only *displayed* through language; it is often *achieved* through language."[112] Corporate and professional discourse, in particular, is replete with internationalisms derived from English which may be required for communication purposes in some commercial situations, but may also help to reinforce the speaker's status.

The use of foreign languages in certain work settings, and of foreign terminology which is accessible only through a knowledge of those languages, may be promoting a sense of 'us' and 'them', which has hitherto been largely absent amongst Czech speakers. In 'Czech titles' (p. 451), I quote from Čmejrková and Daneš, who address the theme of 'své' (one's own) and 'cizí' (foreign; pertaining to the other) from a functional perspective: "The geographical boundaries [between peoples] are being erased, but the boundaries between the language of social, professional and interest groups are being accentuated."[113] Nekvapil and Nekula have highlighted the prestige of foreign languages in multinational enterprises and have noted that "the management activities […] are often performed in English or German, while the manufacturing sections are dominated by Czech."[114]

The increase in foreign language study, and the opening-up of the Czech economy and society since 1989, appears to have contributed to at least some shift in attitudes to lexical borrowing. In Tejnor's survey, 64% described the total number of expressions from other languages as 'excessive'; whereas in 'Perceptions', 48% (see above) were critical of the extent of borrowing, and in Gester's questionnaire, 47%

111 See, for example, Vivien Burr, *An Introduction to Social Constructionism* (London & New York, 1995).
112 See Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, 2002), and Muriel Saville-Troike, *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction* (Oxford, 2003), p. 261.
113 Světla Čmejrková & František Daneš, 'Své a cizí z hlediska funkčního', in Zdeňka Hladká & Petr Karlík (eds), *Čeština – univerzália a specifika* 5 (Prague, 2004), pp. 321–33 (p. 328).
114 Jiří Nekvapil & Marek Nekula, 'On language management in multinational companies in the Czech Republic', *Current Issues in Language Planning* 7 (2 & 3), 2006, pp. 307–27 (p. 314).

thought that Czech has a surfeit of Anglicisms. However, the impression amongst people that they require a better knowledge of foreign terms remains undiminished. When asked how often foreign terms cause them problems in their everyday life, 86% of the informants in 'Perceptions' said 'sometimes', 'frequently' or 'all the time', compared with 87% in Tejnor's survey, who claimed that they 'sometimes' or 'frequently' struggle with loanwords (pp. 23–24). Nearly two-thirds (63%) of my informants maintained that they need to improve their understanding of foreign vocabulary, including 78% of graduates and 73% of 15–29 year-olds (p. 24).

Tejnor and 'Perceptions' highlighted two common areas where borrowing is felt to be particularly problematic: everyday conversation (identified by 64% of Tejnor's and 54% of my informants), and political and public life (Tejnor: 47%, 'Perceptions': 58%). Tejnor recorded substantial objections to loanwords in economic matters (47%), while I observed similar opposition to foreign innovations in advertizing (47%) (pp. 35–36). Given the huge development of advertizing since 1989, and its heavily English-language influenced orientation, it is barely surprising that my interviewees specified this as an area of particular concern. The majority of Tejnor's and my informants were unperturbed by the use of borrowed vocabulary in technology (and computing), healthcare (and beauty), and sport (and leisure-time activities), and my interviewees were also quite reconciled to the existence of foreign terms in the workplace. In all of the specific lexical domains identified in 'Perceptions', the under-29s were the most sanguine about the impact of loanwords, and the over-60s expressed the greatest misgivings (p. 36).

In order to mitigate the introspective nature of my informants' responses, I also asked them how they felt other groups of people perceive lexical borrowing. Virtually all the interviewees were of the opinion that the elderly tend to be opposed to foreign words, while the younger generation, the media, politicians, advertisers and business people are in favour (p. 38). Views on the attitudes of teachers were more or less evenly divided, perhaps because teachers are simultaneously charged with upholding traditional language values and with imparting new knowledge. The assumption that those who most enthusiastically endorse foreign words are the young and the influential may partly account for the sense of disenfranchisement felt by some of the elderly and less well educated.

In theory, most Czechs claim to prefer indigenous lexical items to loanwords, on the grounds of their strong associations with Czech national identity. Indigenous terms represent a tradition of linguistic continuity and integrity, which has its origins in the Revivalist notion of language use as an act of volition, as discussed by Macura.[115] While language choice may no longer be inextricably linked in people's minds to the kind of patriotic fervour which characterized Phase C of the National Revival, things Czech still tend to have a positive resonance. In 'Perceptions', 56% of my informants maintained that, where possible, they would opt for a Czech expression, although interestingly this number falls to 33% amongst the 15–29 year-olds (pp. 34–35). When asked directly whether it is worth looking for Czech phrases for well-known loanwords such as *internet* and *pizza*, 65% of all informants said 'no', and 25% replied 'yes' (pp. 38–39).

The fact that the younger generation is so accepting of foreign neologisms may be significant since they are the group with the greatest long-term influence on the direction of Czech, but it remains to be seen whether their attitudes will persist as they grow older. In practice, those interviewees who said that usage depends largely on context were probably nearer the mark (p. 34). The combination of social and cultural factors which informs lexical choice is complex, and may vary not only according to well-attested sociolinguistic variables, but also in accordance with the sixteen characteristics of linguistic interaction identified by Hymes, and encapsulated in his mnemonic S–P–E–A–K–I–N–G (Setting and Scene, Participants, Ends, Act Sequence, Key, Instrumentalities, Norms, Genre).[116]

In *Attitudes* (p. 39), I argue that the theoretical preference for Czech words generally pertains where there is a straightforward choice between a Czech term and its foreign counterpart, unless the former is now regarded as old-fashioned or has a narrower semantic range. When asked to choose between doublets, such as *aluminium* and *hliník*, 66% opted for the Czech expression, 20% said that it depends on context, and under 6% chose the foreign form (p. 39). In Tejnor's study, 55% expressed a preference for the Czech word, 29% maintained that they used both, and 13% claimed that they consistently opted for the international variant. The term

115 Macura, *Znamení zrodu*, p. 144.
116 Dell Hymes, *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach* (Pennsylvania, 1974), pp. 53–62.

*hliník*(*ový*) is found 1,373 times in *SYN2010*, whereas *aluminium*/*aluminiový* occurs just 102 times (7% of the total). Were I to attempt a more detailed comparison of the relationship between corpus data and acceptability judgements, I would apply elements of the structure established in Bermel and Knittl's forthcoming studies of morphosyntactic and syntactic variation, which confirm a strong correlation between the relative proportion of forms in a corpus and their acceptability.[117]

The selection of individual lexical items in a survey of this kind is problematic, since there are no objective criteria by which to establish their representativeness of the lexicon as a whole. Corpora provide details of frequency of usage and context, but they do not indicate people's knowledge of the total repertoire of loanwords (relative to their knowledge of the sum of their indigenous semantic equivalents) or their perceptions of borrowed terminology as a pars pro toto. My examples at best provide merely a useful snapshot of overall trends. Yet, while I acknowledge that this is not a precise science, my selection of terms was guided by a series of carefully considered principles: (1) where applicable, I sought to repeat Tejnor's examples, in order to establish a diachronic perspective, (2) in the case of synonymous doublets, I chose examples where both forms have a reasonable degree of currency, (3) in the case of doublets where the loanword has alternative spellings, I stuck to lexical items where both orthographic forms commonly occur, (4) in the case of loan translations, I illustrated my point by reference to two widely used examples, (5) I avoided restricting myself to Anglicisms (as demonstrated in question 51, p. 44), in order to give a broader overview of lexical borrowing, and (6) I selected two clearly defined semantic domains (sport and computing), characterized by neologisms since 1970, in order to ascertain differences in people's awareness of modern usage.

Once again, the two main variables determining perceptions and knowledge were age and education. For instance, the 15–19 year-olds showed a clear preference for *basket(bal)* (basketball) and *sci-fi* – 69% and 62%, respectively, while the over-60s favoured *košíková* and *vědecko-fantastický* – 64% and 62%, respectively (pp. 40–41). Even where the foreign term is endorsed by a majority of speakers in all age ranges because it has, in Salzmann's words, "the great advantage of being able to

117 Neil Bermel & Luděk Knittl, 'Corpus frequency and acceptability judgments: A study of morphosyntactic variants', and 'Morphosyntactic variation and syntactic constructions in Czech nominal declension: corpus frequency and native-speaker judgments', courtesy of Susan Reid.

yield derivatives easily",[118] as in the doublet *fotbal* and *kopaná* (football), the preference for the loanword is much stronger amongst the 15–19 year-olds than the over-60s: 75.9% against 47.5%.

Familiarity with computer terminology is closely linked both to generational and gender differences, although the former is again the more significant. Whereas 65% and 68% of males in the age range 15–29 claimed to know *desktop* and *upgrade*, respectively, only around 6% and 10% of the over 60 year-old women did so. Of the women aged between 15 and 29, 33% and 46% were familiar with *desktop* and *upgrade*, respectively, compared with 29% and 15% of men between 45 and 59, and 17% and 20% of the over-60 males. All the words listed, except *desktop*, *slideshow* and *hyperlink*, were known to more than half of the informants aged 15–29, but only the polysemous verb *surfovat* (to surf) had a recognition rate exceeding 50% amongst the over-60s (due perhaps to the metaphorization of the sporting term) (pp. 47–48). In the domain of sport, gender was the main determinant of comprehension in every case, with the percentage difference between males' and females' understanding varying from 13% for *taekwondo* to 45% for *hattrick* (pp. 46–47).

The evidence of 'Perceptions' suggests that Czechs are generally more accepting of selected borrowed terms than was the case under Communism, especially where they have been popularized by English. When I asked my informants to assess the acceptability of eight loanwords commonly used in the media, which were deemed inappropriate by a majority of Tejnor's interviewees, all were now seen as more legitimate than in 1970, and all, except *eskalace* (escalation), *platforma* (platform) and *stimul* (stimulus), were regarded as more suitable than unsuitable. Despite the rather abstract nature of some of the expressions, the younger informants proved, as elsewhere, more tolerant of the foreign alternatives than their elders (p. 42).

Most of my informants theoretically prefer forms which cause little disruption to the norms of Czech word formation and orthography, as reflected in the traditional predilection for loan translations over direct borrowings. Thomas has pointed out that many of the articles which appeared in the first twenty years of *Naše řeč*, highlighting the need to replace German words, openly advocated the use of calques based on the very same German words, and that "many Czechs – especially the

118 Salzmann, 'Foreign influences on Czech […]', p. 73.

younger generation – appear oblivious to the possible German origin of phrases such as *mít smůlu*, 'to be unlucky' (cf. G *Pech haben*)."[119] Only 17% of my interviewees expressed any opposition to loan translations such as *časovač* (timer) and *(počítačová) myš* ([computer] mouse), and a majority favoured the Czech spelling in doublets such as *fér* and *fair* and *manažer* and *manager* (p. 41).

The gradual shift in attitudes towards borrowing applies not only to standard Czech, but also to the area of language where German influence remains strongest – everyday spoken Czech. When Tejnor asked his informants to evaluate the appropriateness of ten non-indigenous colloquialisms, more than half of his sample felt that *furt* (always), *kramflek* (heel) and *šmakovat* (to taste good) have no place in the Czech lexicon, while over a third regarded the other examples as inappropriate in all contexts (see pp. 50–53). In 'Perceptions', all ten of the words listed were felt to be more appropriate than inappropriate in ordinary conversation, although views on *furt* were almost evenly divided. My interviewees were more accepting of colloquial expressions in both creative writing and the media than Tejnor's sample, but none of the terms listed was deemed appropriate by a majority for use in the media.

This chapter has highlighted a number of trends in attitudes to lexical borrowing, of which two perhaps stand out: (1) the tendency for the young (together with the better educated) to be more amenable to loanwords than the elderly, and (2) a belief amongst many speakers that the misuse of foreign terms is undesirable, and may be damaging to the linguistic heritage. There still appears to be a theoretical yearning amongst Czechs for the stability of an ill-defined golden age, in which their language was somehow purer and represented more faithfully the spirit of the nation. Many people feel that language standards have fallen even in the past few years. When asked to compare the state of Czech between 1990 and 1995, more of Kraus's 1,078 informants in all age ranges, and all eight of his specified domains, said that the language had deteriorated rather than improved. 'Perceptions', which followed on chronologically from Kraus's survey, found broadly similar results for the period from 1995 to 2005, with 55% of my interviewees identifying a decline in writing standards, and 58% noting a deterioration in spoken Czech (pp. 19–20).[120]

119 Thomas, 'Towards a History […]', pp. 413 & 417.
120 Kraus, 'Několik poznámek […]', p. 6.

## 7. Attitudes to the 'self' and 'others'

The penultimate chapter of this commentary, which draws primarily on 'Czech titles', focuses on the Czechs' tendency to see themselves in terms of opposition to others, and on their changing attitudes to the notion of 'foreign', as illustrated by the lexicon. Mayer sums up the Czechs' quest for national self-identity as follows: "For Czechs the question *Who are we?* was historically posed first in relation to the Germans, then to the Austrians, next to the Russians and finally to the Slovaks. Today it tends to emerge most commonly again in relation to the Germans and to Europe".[121] My work highlights, in particular, developments in people's perceptions of their immediate neighbours and contact communities, in accordance with the prevailing socio-political norms and values. It argues that national mythopoeia continued to play a major role in shaping the language throughout the twentieth century, and that the concept of other peoples as outsiders, who threaten Czech homogeneity, has been deeply rooted in the collective consciousness. It also acknowledges a paradigm shift since 1989 away from the interpretation of inclusivity and exclusivity on the basis of nationality towards a more nuanced approach to belonging. More eclectic attitudes to individual identity, resulting in part from greater ethnic diversity, have led to a re-evaluation of the existing socal structures and of the potential contribution of foreigners to the enrichment of the country.

In the comments below (based mainly on pp. 429–52 of 'Czech titles'), I begin by considering how Czechs characterize themselves, before discussing their view of foreigners, and the juxtaposition of 'us' and 'them' in everyday vocabulary. Havlík's division of 'foreign' into 'problematic' and 'unproblematic', referred to in chapter 1, provides a helpful classificatory framework, but it is clearly limited by the subjective and transient nature of the judgements on which it is founded. Not only do opinions of other peoples vary widely, but they evolve over time. For example, the Vietnamese, who were once regarded with considerable suspicion, are now accorded a degree of respect, albeit sometimes grudging and qualified, for their hard work and entrepreneurial skills.

The Czechs' self-perception is varied and occasionally contradictory. Although

121 Françoise Mayer, *Češi a jejich komunismus* (Prague, 2009), p. 30.

they see themselves as cultured and competent, they tend to be overtly self-critical. Czech ethnohistoriography attributes considerable importance to the role of ordinary people, but paradoxically portrays those selfsame people in a largely unheroic light. Amongst the various self-deprecating endonyms cited in 'Czech titles' (p. 431), is *malý český člověk* (the little Czech), which is so widely recognized as a national caricature that it has spawned its own initialism *MČČ*. According to Holy, the *MČČ* does not boast great qualities – he is cautious and mistrustful of those outside his immediate circle – but he epitomizes the spirit of Czech resistance to external oppression.[122] Similarly *Čecháček*, a derivative of *Čech* (Czech/Bohemian), connotes a series of negative images, from narrow-mindedness and self-interestedness, to parochialism, complacency and xenophobia, in Havel's conception,[123] to Bohemian obduracy and arrogance, in the eyes of some Moravians. The inherent instability of connotative meaning, as discussed by Leech, is considered in 'Czech titles' (pp. 431 and 453).[124]

Despite the Czechs' tendency to be self-effacing, they nonetheless feel a sense of (affectionate) superiority to Slovaks, whom they have tended to regard as their wayward younger brothers. Although there are some derogatory expressions for the Slovaks in Czech, such as the dated term *dráteník*/*dráteníček* ([travelling] tinker), and Slovaks sometimes employ the ironic hypocoristic *pepík* to denote a typical Czech, relations between the two peoples have for the most part been amicable. The Slovaks are the least problematic of the Czechs' neighbours and, as previously intimated, are not always felt to merit the epithet of 'foreigners'.

The Czechs' relations with their other major Slav neighbour – the Poles – are likewise generally cordial, despite a series of twentieth-century territorial disputes over Těšínsko. Poles usually find it quite easy to assimilate linguistically into Czech society, but there is a perception of an absence of a deeper cultural affinity between the two peoples, as exemplified by the Polish metaphor *czeski film* (Czech film), which can refer to virtually anything inscrutable. Hannan asserts that the Czechs

122 Holy, *The Little Czech* […], p. 62.
123 See Lucie Hašová (= Lucie Jílková), 'Bemerkungen zum „Ethnonym" Čecháček', in Markus Bayer et al. (eds), *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik (POLYSLAV)*, 7, Munich, 2004, pp. 80–87, and Emil Šíp, 'Čecháčkové', *Národní osvobození*, 5 August 1999 [in *Britské listy*]. <http://blisty.cz/art/10864.html>.
124 Geoffrey Leech, *Semantics* (Harmondsworth, 1981), p. 15.

have traditionally regarded the Poles as inefficient and lacking in perseverance, whereas the Poles have seen the Czechs as a submissive and irreligious people.[125]

German speakers have historically been viewed with far greater suspicion than fellow Slavs, despite the Czechs' recognition of the pervasive Austrian influence on aspects of their life. Both the Germans and the Austrians now belong firmly in the 'unproblematic' camp, but the lexicon still testifies to anti-German sentiment, as evidenced by the old-fashioned derivatives of *Němec* (a German): *Němčour*(*ek*) (an obstinate German) and *němčourství* (stubborn Germanness). Czech slang provides a particularly clear indication of the erstwhile animosities between Czech and German speakers. Amongst the innumerable pejorative exonyms for Germans are several relating to imperial ambition, such as *nácek* (Nazi), and *rajch* (Reich) to denote the German state. There are also some derogatory terms for Austrians, including the old-fashioned cognates of *Rakušan* (an Austrian): *Rakušák*/*Rakušačka* (a 'loyal' Austrian), and its derivatives *rakušácký* (pro-Habsburg) and *rakušáctví* (Austrophilism).

As indicated in chapter 4, Czech attitudes to the Russian-speaking world have changed significantly over time. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was considerable pro-Russian sentiment, but it had its origins mainly in abstract and romanticized notions, and was not underpinned by strong ideological conviction. As Sak puts it, "Czech Russophilism was in essence non-political, and drew mainly on literary and metaphysical sources".[126] Masaryk consistently proclaimed 'open-eyed' affection for the Russian people, but he was overtly critical of Russian political extremism, and categorically rejected the radical pan-Slav tendencies of some of his compatriots. He subsequently castigated Bolshevism too for its lack of moral and religious compass.[127]

The wave of pro-Russian sentiment which accompanied the role of the Red Army in the liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945 proved relatively short-lived, except amongst die-hard Communist Party supporters. Nearly all Czechs now

125 Kevin Hannan, *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia* (New York, 1996), p. 184.
126 Robert Sak, *Anabáze: Drama československých legionářů v Rusku (1914–1920)* (Prague, 1996), p. 9.
127 See especially T. G. Masaryk, *Rusko a Evropa* (Prague, 1919–1921), and *Sovětské Rusko a my* (Prague, 1923).

condemn the Stalinist excesses of the 1950s and the Warsaw Pact invasion in 1968, and most regard Soviet influence on post-war Czechoslovak history negatively, although there is some nostalgia for the securities provided by state socialism. Amongst the colloquial ethnophaulisms for Russians listed in 'Czech titles' (pp. 446–47) are some which pre-date the Soviet system, such as *Rusák*/*Rusáček* and *Moskal* (Muscovite), but rather more which were confined to the Soviet era, including *kolchozník* (collective farm worker) and *velký bratr* (big brother). There is no longer much overt hostility to the Russians, except amongst some of the older generation and supporters of the national hockey team, although Czechs rarely embrace Russian visitors and residents with enthusiasm.

Attitudes to the Ukrainians, who constitute the largest foreign community in the Czech Republic, are considerably more guarded, despite Czechoslovakia's historical ties with Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Ukrainian migrant workers are amongst the most disadvantaged sector of society and are unpopular, at least in part, because they are perceived to be taking 'Czech' jobs.[128] The jocular old-fashioned nickname for Ukrainians, *Chachlák*/*Chochlák*/*Chachol*/*Chochol*, which is taken from Russian, has largely given way to more derogatory expressions, such as *Úkáčko*.

Of all the ethnic minorities, only the Roma consistently score lower approval ratings than the Ukrainians. There are far more terms of denigration for the Roma than there are neutral forms, such as *Olach* (Wallachian Roma) and *Rumungr* (Hungarian Roma), and even the ethnicon *cigán*/*cikán* (gypsy), which is preferred to *Rom* (Roma) in everyday speech, has some negative connotations.[129] In 'Czech titles' (p. 449), I argue that the Roma desire to be simultaneously outside Czech society and an integral part of it runs counter to the Czechs' normative interpretation of what constitutes their national identity. The Czechs' perception that the Roma do not 'belong' is accentuated by linguistic differences, which contribute in no small measure to their educational under-achievement, with its concomitant social implications. Neustupný and Nekvapil have described the Roma issue as "the most

128 See, for example, Jan Červenka, 'Postoje české veřejnosti k zaměstnávání cizinců – březen 2010', Prague, 2010, pp. 1-2. <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101027s_ov100407.pdf>.
129 For more designations, see Jan Hugo et al., *Slovník nespisovné češtiny* (Prague, 2006), and Patrik Ouředník, *Šmírbuch jazyka českého* (Prague & Litomyšl, 2005).

significant ethnic problem of the present day Czech Republic".[130]

The question of belonging is graphically illustrated in the Czech lexicon by the extensive range of terms distinguishing between 'us' and 'them', and 'here/(at) home' and 'there/abroad', including *náš* (our) and *jejich* (their), *své*/*svůj* (*vlastní*) (one's own) and *nesvůj*/*cizí* (someone else's, foreign), *doma* (literally 'at home [in our country]') and *venku* ('outside [our country]'), and *tuzemský* (local, pertaining to this land) and *cizozemský*/*zahraniční* (foreign). Phrases such as *svůj k svému* (each to his own), adopted by tradesmen in the late 1880s to encourage support for Czech-run businesses, serve to highlight the importance which the Czechs have attached to the notion of self-dependence. The Revivalist phrase *Národ sobě!* (literally 'The nation to itself!'; By the people, for the people!), used as a rallying cry for the collection of funds to construct the National Theatre (*Národní divadlo*), further stresses the idea of self-reliance.

The pronoun *náš* can be exclusive, as in *naši remizovali ve Skotsku* ('ours' [we, the Czechs] drew in Scotland), but it has also been employed to subsume various ethnies, as in Masaryk's use of *naši dobrovolníci v Rusku* ('our [Czech and Slovak] volunteers' in Russia [in the Great War]), *náš národ* (our [Czech and Slovak] nation) and *naši Němci* (our ['Czechoslovak'] Germans). The construction *u nás* (*doma*) (cf. German 'bei uns', French 'chez nous'), likewise covers a range of meanings relating to ethnic affiliation, including *v České republice* (in the Czech Republic), *v Česku* (in Czechia), *v Čechách* (in Bohemia) and *na Moravě* (in Moravia), as well as to more localized attachment. Roberts cites Tony Judt's perceptive observation that the expression allows one "to slide effortlessly from cozy domesticity into ethnocentric exclusivism".[131]

The adjective *cizí* has a similar semantic range to that of German *fremd*, but, unlike its German counterpart, it has spawned numerous pejorative expressions, such as *cizáci*/*cizáctvo* (undesirable foreigners), *cizáctví* (perfidious foreignness) and *cizácký* (unpleasantly foreign). The relative frequency of the collocation *cizí nadvláda* (foreign hegemony), cited thirty-five times in the corpus of newspapers and magazines *SYN2006PUB* and forty-seven times in *SYN2009PUB*, comprising

130 J. V. Neustupný & Jiří Nekvapil, 'Language Management in the Czech Republic', *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4 (3 & 4), 2003, pp. 181–366 (p. 203).
131 Andrew Roberts, *A Dictionary of Czech Popular Culture* (Budapest & New York, 2005), p. 173.

300 million and 700 million words, respectively, suggests the extent to which the idea of the burden of foreign oppression has become routinized. Heimann, perhaps more than any other historian, is at pains to stress the Czech tendency to make a scapegoat of external forces: "Even episodes that could not plausibly be blamed on outsiders (such as the treatment of the German and Hungarian minorities after the war, and the anti-Semitism of the 1950s) have been justified by the supposed collective 'guilt' of 'national enemies' of the righteous Czech and Slovak nations."[132]

In 'Czech titles' (pp. 450–51), I postulate that the constantly repeated distinction between Czech and non-Czech, predicated on age-long territorial claims, and consolidated by a shared language, culture and history, may have reinforced the notion of nationality as a birthright and of the foreigner as an unwelcome outsider. Yet, I also emphasize that the importance of nationality and mother-tongue skills may now be declining, as a result of globalization, membership of the European Union, more regionally based economic integration, increased foreign language study and travel abroad, and greater exposure to foreigners in the Czech Republic. Foreign companies and joint ventures have had a profound effect on the relations between individuals, not only by making professional development more contingent on language knowledge, but also in terms of the Czechs' perceptions of non-natives (especially those in authority). As Neustupný and Nekvapil have pointed out, "The socioeconomic dominance of foreign managers is reinforced by their communicative dominance. Managers normally communicate with their subordinates in their own first language and expect acknowledgement of this pattern from their subordinates."[133] In practice, intra-company communication policies have strengthened the status of fluent speakers of English and German at the expense of Czechs with limited foreign language competence.

132 See Mary Heimann, *Czechoslovakia* (New Haven & London, 2009), pp. 148-49.
133 Neustupný & Nekvapil, 'Language Management […]', p. 311.

## 8. Conclusion

The aim of this commentary has been to produce a coherent and perspicuous synthesis of my most relevant findings, which I have supplemented with new material, where required, to demonstrate the affinity and contiguity between the apposite elements of the portfolio. The use of a thematic approach, which draws on a range of my own original data, as well as on innumerable other sources, helps to underscore the complementarity of my five chosen studies. At the heart of all my publications is my interest in the word, and what it tells us about the Czechs, their self-perceptions and their view of other peoples. My increasing concern with the representation of outsiders, as evidenced by 'Czech titles', is also reflected in my latest conference paper on the Czechs' changing relationship to foreignness.[134]

On the basis of the evidence presented, I have reached several conclusions relating both to aspects of language contact and lexical borrowing in Czech, and to their implications for the self and others: (1) the legacy of the struggle for self-determination is prevalent in the contemporary lexicon, and appears to have at least some bearing on current attitudes to things foreign, (2) language purism, in the sense that it was promulgated during the National Revival, however, barely exists today, (3) public perceptions of lexical innovation are slowly changing, but the elderly and less well educated still have significant reservations about borrowing, (4) the vast majority of Czechs oppose the misuse and overuse of loanwords, (5) the typology of Czech readily permits the adoption of Slavonic root words, (6) functionally necessary Anglicisms, and internationalisms popularized by English, are now widely accepted, irrespective of whether or not they undergo morphophonological adaptation, (7) native-speaker language skills and place of birth are still regarded as major determinants of ethnocultural affiliation, but monolingualism is increasingly seen as an impediment to personal and professional development, and (8) attitudes to the 'other' are no longer defined by monoculturalism, although not all speakers are positively disposed to the influence of foreign nationals, and not all ethnies are

134 Tom Dickins, 'Attitudes to the notion of "foreign" in the Czech-speaking lands, as reflected in the post-nineteenth-century lexicon', *Xenographies 2 conference*, Universitat Pompeu Fabria (Barcelona), 9 September 2011.

treated equally. I consider each of the aforementioned points below.

The first two phases of national rebirth (in Hroch's schema) were concerned largely with the development of language and culture. As Macura has illustrated, the concept of a Czech 'nation', defined in a narrower linguistic and ethnic sense, for a long time coexisted with the idea of a broader all-Slavonic 'nation', and only in the latter part of the nineteenth century acquired a more overtly 'nationalist' dimension.[135] The existence of unflattering epithets, such as *Čehona* (an over-obliging Czech citizen who snuggled up to Vienna), bears witness to the extent of anti-German sentiment, and symbolizes a rejection of the concept of the Bohemian territorial nation as a single (Czech/German) spiritual entity, which formed part of a multilingual greater German cultural nation, as envisaged by Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848).[136] (See 'Czech titles', pp. 432 & 409.)

The abandonment of Germanisms in *spisovná čeština* necessitated relexification based largely on Slavonic sources, but recourse was also made to other languages to denote new realities, especially where the lexifier was felt to be socially prestigious (as with French). The First Republic heralded a more liberal attitude to non-German external influences, although the Czechs' relationship with the Slovaks and their language suggested more a desire to impose cultural and linguistic commonality than a readiness to embrace alterity. The outbreak of war and subsequent isolation from western civilization reinforced traditional negative perceptions of things foreign, including lexical borrowing. As a result, Czech national identity and patriotic feelings have continued to be bound quite closely to language. Pynsent makes the point succinctly in a recent literary study: "Czech nationalism remains pretty linguocentric".[137]

Linguistic purism was once such an automatic response to German hegemony that even a progressive thinker like Masaryk spoke (in 1898) of the Czechs 'unburdening' themselves of the German mindset.[138] Nowadays, purism as a tool of language engineering has given way to a recognition that borrowing can serve useful

135 See Macura, *Znamení zrodu*, pp. 182–83.
136 See, for example, Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, 2004), p. 110, and Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 57–62.
137 Robert B. Pynsent, 'The Ideologization of the Child: Zdeňka Bezděková and Marie Majerová', *Central Europe* 9 (1), 2011, pp. 32–58 (p. 55).
138 T. G. Masaryk, *Jak pracovat?* (Prague, 1946), p. 55.

purposes, although prescriptive notions are not uncommon, especially amongst more elderly speakers. Jelínek summarizes the current situation thus: "To this day, many of the older generation mistrust certain language devices which the purists attacked as Germanisms. As a principle of language culture, the role of purism as the custodian of Czech has, however, been rendered redundant."[139]

The misgivings expressed by the elderly may reflect both a concern for their linguistic heritage and a sense that they are being marginalized by developments in post-Communist society. The less well educated frequently share the second concern, as borne out by the findings in 'Perceptions'. It is not so much the case that older and less qualified people reject loanwords per se, but that they suspect others of employing them to their own ends. The abuse of borrowing is felt to have two principal, sometimes overlapping, motivations; both of which may involve self-aggrandizement and establish a dichotomy between the speaker and the addressee: (1) the desire to show off, and (2) the exclusion of the uninitiated. The former may be relatively harmless, but the latter tends to privilege the speaker at the expense of his or her interlocutors.

By no means have all Czechs benefited equally from the increased contact with foreign languages, whether it be through education, travel, the media, technology or work, or a combination thereof. Nor are all Czechs equally persuaded of the merits of greater European integration. The Czechs' ambiguous relationship with Europe, which is so eloquently outlined in Macura's essay 'Dream of Europe',[140] has still not been resolved to the satisfaction of a great many Czechs, including their Eurosceptic president, Václav Klaus. According to the latest CVVM opinion survey, only 28% of Czechs are either very or quite satisfied with membership of the European Union, and more than half (especially the over-60s, non-graduates and those in less well paid jobs) take no pride in belonging to the organization.[141]

The question of attitudes to lexical borrowing may no longer occupy the Czechs to the extent that it did in the past, but it remains an important indicator of national

139 Jelínek, 'Purismus', p. 569.
140 Vladimír Macura, *The Mystifications of a Nation* (Madison, Wisconsin, 2010), pp. 13–26.
141 See Paulína Tabery, 'Názory obyvatel na členství České republiky v Evropské unii a evropskou integraci ve vybraných oblastech', Prague: CVVM, 2011, pp. 1–5 (pp. 2–4). <http://www.cvvm. cas. cz/upl/zpravy/101167s_pm110630b.pdf>.

self-perception. My research demonstrates that Slavonic root words pose minimal disruption to the structures of Czech, but it also shows that, since the mid-nineteenth century, they have added comparatively little to the mainstream lexicon. The adoption of Russianisms, in particular, has been restricted by their semantic range and their strong associations with state socialism. By contrast, since 1989, Anglicisms have filled innumerable lexical gaps, and now enjoy a prestige which overcomes any objections to their introduction on the grounds of language typology. Where borrowings cannot be easily adapted, as with the adjectival forms *all-inclusive* and *in-line*, they are generally treated as indeclinable. Most of the English terms either relate to new concepts or objects, or serve to enhance international understanding, although some such as *houmlesák* (homeless person), for *bezdomovec*, would appear surplus to requirements.

The shift in attitudes to the notion of 'foreign' since the collapse of Communism has contributed to a reappraisal of the Czechs' place in the modern world. Notwithstanding people's scepticism towards the European Union and their apprehensions about globalization, there is an increasingly widespread recognition of the costs of glorious isolation. Czechness may still be defined in much narrower ethnolinguistic terms than, say, Americanness, but certain aspects of otherness have been embraced. New loanwords which meet specific requirements are now readily sanctioned, the need for foreign language competence is universally understood, and 'unproblematic' foreigners, who contribute to the development of the Czech economy, are broadly welcomed. Indeed, one of the most important socio-political changes evidenced by this portfolio is the Czechs' qualified acceptance of cultural and linguistic diversity as a prerequisite for full participation in the international community. Tensions with 'problematic' ethnic groups persist, but the influence of non-Czechs is no longer uncritically dismissed as inimical to the interests of the state. It remains to be seen whether a reconfiguration of European economic and political relations, and public reactions to the emergent norms, will require me in the near future to reassess Czech perceptions of the outside world.

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# CURRICULUM VITAE

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'The Czech-speaking lands, their peoples and contact communities: titles, names and ethnonyms', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 89 (3), 2011, pp. 401–454.

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## TEACHING AND LEARNING MATERIALS

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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Milena Kelly, **Czech for You**, in *Czech Language News* 2, 1994.

## CONFERENCE PAPERS AND ORGANIZATION

9 September 2011 Universitat Pompeu Fabria (Barcelona), Xenographies 2 conference: 'Attitudes to the notion of "foreign" in The Czech-speaking lands, as reflected in the post-nineteenth-century lexicon'

8–10 September 2011 Member of Scientific Committee: Universitat Pompeu Fabria (Barcelona), Xenographies 2 conference

1 July 2011 New Research in LSSC (University of Wolverhampton): 'Historical "signposts" and other temporal indicators in the Czech lexicon since the Great War'

2 July 2010 New Research in LSSC (University of Wolverhampton): 'Czech perceptions of themselves and other peoples, as reflected in naming practices'

2 July 2009 Co-organizer of conference: New Research in HLSS (University of Wolverhampton)

13 September 2008 University of Essex, Linguistics Association of Great Britain, peer-reviewed conference paper: 'The Czechs and the Slovak language' (*themed session on Central and East European sociolinguistics*)

24 May 2006 Nottingham Trent University, Invited paper: ‘Attitudes to loanwords in contemporary Czech’

23–24 June 2005 University of Wolverhampton, *HAGRI–ETAT Post-communism conference*: Chair of two panels

11 January 2003 Embassy of the Czech Republic, ‘New Ideas and Trends in the Study of Czech Culture, Language, and Literature’: Discussant for paper on changes in the Czech language

31 July 2000 Finnish Institute for Russian and East European Studies, Tampere, Finland, VI ICSEES Congress: ‘The asymmetrical use of animate nouns in Czech’ (Organizer of international, multi-disciplinary panel: ‘Gender and representation in the Czech context’)

14 June 2000 University of Wolverhampton, Research Seminar: ‘Representations of Czechoslovakia in *Slovník jazyka českého*, 1937-1952’

3 April 2000 Fitzwilliam College, University of Cambridge, BASEES Annual Conference: Chair for panel on Russian lexicography

1 April 2000 Fitzwilliam College, University of Cambridge, BASEES Annual Conference: ‘Russian and Soviet referents in the Czech lexicon’

1999 University of Wolverhampton, New Slavonic Linguistics Seminar: ‘Gender differentiation in the Czech dictionary’ (Co-organizer of conference with Neil Bermel, University of Sheffield)

1999 University of Wolverhampton, Russian and East European Centre, Research Seminar: ‘Sex in Czech? Gender differentiation and the asymmetrical use of animate nouns in *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*’

1998 Centre for the Study of Central Europe, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, *Another Transition: Central Europe 1945–1949*: ‘Reflections of ideological values in Czech-Czech dictionaries’

1996 Fitzwilliam College, University of Cambridge, BASEES Annual Conference: ‘Russian–Czech cross-foreign language interference’

1995 Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, Polish Academy of Sciences, V World Congress for Central and East European Studies: Discussant for panel on aspects of contemporary Czech culture

1994 Fitzwilliam College, University of Cambridge, BASEES Annual Conference: ‘Linguistic registers in Czech: problems of the spoken language’

1990 Wolverhampton Polytechnic, occasional seminar paper: ‘Multilingualism in Soviet education’

## APPENDIX: THE PORTFOLIO

1. 'Russian and Soviet loanwords and calques in the Czech lexicon since the beginning of the twentieth century', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 84 (4), 2006, pp. 593–638.

2. 'The legacy and limitations of Czech purism', *Slavonica* 13 (2), 2007, pp. 113–33.

3. 'Češi a slovenština' (The Czechs and the Slovak language), *Naše společnost* 7 (1), 2009, pp. 12–26.

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5. 'The Czech-speaking lands, their peoples and contact communities: titles, names and ethnonyms', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 89 (3), 2011, pp. 401–54.

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# Russian and Soviet Loanwords and Calques in the Czech Lexicon since the Beginning of the Twentieth Century[1]

TOM DICKINS

*Introduction*

This article considers in detail Russian and Soviet lexical influences on Czech after 1900, and re-evaluates the extent of their impact on private and public life. Czech, like other languages in Central and Eastern Europe, has drawn quite extensively on Russian to meet lexical requirements, to depict new realities, and to express cultural, linguistic and ideological solidarity. During the National Revival it frequently adopted other Slavonic root words to fill lexical gaps, including several hundred Russianisms which have acquired the status of indigenous lexical items, such as 'řešit' (to solve) and 'vkus' (taste).[2] This process

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[1] I am greatly indebted to Miroslav Růžička for his invaluable practical help with my research.

[2] These naturalized borrowings have been well documented elsewhere, with particular attention paid to the contributions of Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), Jan Svatopluk Presl (1791–1849) and František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852); for example, 'dějství' (act), 'slovesnost' (belles lettres) and 'zkazka' (legend); 'bolševník' (cow-parsnip), 'proskurník' (marsh mallow) and 'reveň' (rhubarb), and 'bol' (grief), 'chrabrý' (brave, gallant) and 'rov' (tomb). See, *inter alia*, G. A. Lilich, *Rol' russkogo iazyka v razvitii slovarnogo sostava cheshskogo literaturnogo iazyka (konets XVIII–nachalo XIX veka)*, Leningrad, 1982; Vladimír Šmilauer, 'Ruské vlivy na češtinu', *Naše řeč*, 25, 1941, 3 (hereafter, 'Ruské vlivy na češtinu'), pp. 65–69, and George Thomas, *Linguistic Purism*, New York, 1991 (hereafter, *Linguistic Purism*), p. 183.

continued, albeit at a slower pace, in the early twentieth century, largely as a result of contact through the émigré community and the legionaries who fought on Russian soil in the Great War and the Russian Civil War.[3] The Second World War and the liberation of Czechoslovakia contributed a few more Russianisms to the lexical repertoire of Czech, but it was the subsequent imposition of Soviet-style Communism which exposed the language to the greatest range of new terminology. While the number of direct borrowings again amounted to only a few hundred, looser loan translations and Soviet-sounding structures, titles, place names and organizations proliferated after 1948.[4] Many Czechs were initially keen to promote socialist values and, although their enthusiasm often gave way to apathy and even antipathy, for forty years the 'Soviet language', as Mikhail Heller has termed it, informed all public discourse.[5] Two problems emerge when considering the influence of Russianisms on Czech: first, speakers of Czech do not necessarily regard other Slavonic root words as 'foreign', and second, there remains little distinction in Czech minds between ideologically motivated Russian loanwords and the cliché-ridden language of the Soviet system.[6] The results of a small-scale survey of a cross-section of educated people in Prague, carried out for this article, suggest that Czech speakers may not be fully aware of the provenance of established Russian borrowings, except where lexical items relate

[3] See, for instance, Jan Balhar (= Milan Jelínek), 'Rusismy v češtině po Velké říjnové socialistické revoluci do r. 1945', *Universitas*, 5, 1985, pp. 31–33. According to John F. N. Bradley, *The Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, 1914–1920*, New York, 1991 (hereafter, *The Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, 1914–1920*), pp. 14 and 156, and Karel Pychlík, *Bez legend*, Prague, 1991, pp. 43–44, around 120,000 Czechs and Slovaks had settled in Russia before 1914, and the Czechoslovak Legion comprised over 70,000 men.

[4] The examples cited in this study were taken from a variety of sources, including reference dictionaries of Czech, dictionaries of foreign words, etymological dictionaries, fictional works and critical, historical and political studies. Bibliographical details of standard and encyclopaedic dictionaries consulted are given where quoted. Other more specialized lexicographical works consulted included: Josef Holub, *Stručný slovník etymologický*, Prague, 1937; Václav Machek, *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1971; Josef Holub and Stanislav Lyer, *Stručný etymologický slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1978; Ladislav Rejman, *Slovník cizích slov*, Prague, 1966; Lumír Klimeš, *Slovník cizích slov*, Prague, 1981; Věra Petáčková and Jiří Kraus et al., *Akademický slovník cizích slov*, 2nd edn (1 vol.), Prague, 1998; Olga Martincová et al., *Nová slova v češtině: slovník neologismů*, Prague, 1998; Olga Martincová et al., *Nová slova v češtině: slovník neologismů* 2, Prague, 2004, and Zdeňka Sochová and Běla Poštolková, *Co v slovnících nenajdete*, Prague, 1994. Wherever appropriate, illustrations are cross-referenced with the Czech National Corpus from 2000, *Český národní korpus — SYN 2000*, Prague, 2000. *SYN 2000* is a synchronic corpus comprising one hundred million word-forms based on written texts (60 per cent journalism, 25 per cent specialist literature, 15 per cent fiction) mainly from 1990 to 2000.

[5] See Mikhail Heller, *Cogs in the Soviet Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*, London, 1988.

[6] I am grateful to an unknown reader of an earlier article of mine for proposing the hypothesis that Czechs tend to treat Slavonic root words differently to other borrowings.

explicitly to Russian reality or to Soviet-style socialism.[7] Amongst Czechs old enough to have experienced Communist rule first-hand, Russian loanwords have often become synonymous with Soviet speak, as exemplified by a letter to *Mladá fronta Dnes* in April 2004: 'The left is trying to limit freedom of speech. And how dare it do so when its party brought the horrifying "Russianisms" to our language.'[8] Amongst the myriad of terms influenced by Soviet reality, to which the irate correspondent was presumably alluding, were politically inspired neologisms (sometimes pre-dating 1948), including 'beztřídní komunistická společnost' (classless Communist society), 'lidové milice' (people's militia) and 'zpevněné normy' (fixed norms), and place names such as Leninova, náměstí Sovětských hrdinů (Square of the Soviet Heroes) and třída Říjnové revoluce (October Revolution Street).[9]

Czech scholars have recently paid some attention to the Russianisms introduced in the First Republic but, like the letter writer, they have generally dismissed lexical borrowing in the Communist era as an historical aberration.[10] Comparisons are frequently made with the exponential rise in the number of Anglicisms. František Daneš, for

[7] See appendix. The survey asked twenty-one informants of both sexes in the age ranges 18–29, 30–44, 45–59 and 60+ to answer questions based on a list of thirty lexical items (selected from an initial list of ninety) which were intended to represent various types of Russian lexical influence since the early twentieth century. The questions were as follows: *Do you sometimes hear or use this term? Do you know what the term means? Does the term relate to the former socialist system? Do you consider the term to be old-fashioned? Would you recognize the origin of the term?* (The final question was problematic — it avoided specifically asking the informants to identify the origin of the terms, in order not to suggest that they were being tested or to draw too much attention to the number of direct borrowings from Russian, hence the data only indicate their perception of what they know, rather than their actual knowledge.) The lexical items chosen (all referred to with approximate translations in the article) were: autopark, bezprizorný, brojler, činovník, čistka, diverzant, dispečer, instruktáž, kombajn, konspekt, kontejner, kontrarozvědka, nálet, normohodina, (dělat) obezličky, obchvat, okop, operativní, pohraničník, požárník, prostoj, protivzdušný, prověrka, samochodný, souputník, stranické orgány, suchar, tolstolobik, vědecko-výzkumný, zemljanka. The results of the survey revealed a surprising degree of variation in the informants' responses, with the 18–29 age group being the least well informed about the socialist period, but with little discernible difference between the genders.

[8] Jan Polívka, 'Jazyková totalita', in 'Fórum čtenářů: Kam nás vede socialistická vláda?', *Dnes*, 13 April 2004, p. A/7.

[9] For more detailed consideration of economic and political structures, see Svatopluk Mareš, 'Abeceda řízení', Prague, 1979, and Miroslav Šolc (principal ed.), 'ABC Stručný politický slovník', Prague, 1986. Interestingly, there was a street in Chodov, Prague, named Stalinova up to 1989.

[10] For a critical discussion of the contribution of Russian in the pre-socialist years, see Igor Němec, 'Česká slova odboje', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 61, 2000, 4, pp. 257–75 (hereafter, 'Česká slova odboje'); 'Jazyk československých legií v Rusku', *Historie a vojenství*, 40, 1991a, pp. 25–39 (hereafter, 'Jazyk československých legií v Rusku'), and 'O Masarykových slovech přejatých v cizím prostředí', in Světla Čmejrková and František Daneš (eds), *O Čapkových Hovorech s T. G. Masarykem*, Prague, 1994, pp. 100–02. Němec's analysis of the characteristics of the resistance vocabulary, in 'Česká slova odboje', leads him to the conclusion that it constitutes a specific, definable lexical system.

example, notes that 'whereas the influence of Russian on Czech during the Communist regime and oppression was surprisingly not significant (its impact was greatest in the field of political organization and ideology, inconsiderable in specialist and scientific vocabulary, and minimal in everyday communication), the current influence of English is simply massive'.[11] The success of English as a donor language reflects the fact that it meets such a wide range of requirements, as well as its high international prestige, and possibly a degree of snobbery or laziness on the part of Czechs who have regular contact with the English-speaking world.[12] However, no language other than English has donated many terms to the Czech lexicon in recent decades (apart from terms for food and drink), and the current focus on the use of Anglicisms may have even encouraged a tendency by scholars to neglect other post-1900 borrowings. Nobody has yet attempted a comprehensive overview of twentieth-century Russian loanwords and calques with reference to the most authoritative lexical source, the Czech National Corpus (hereafter, *ČNK*). Nor have there been any published studies of the psycholinguistic factors that may have helped to restrict the take-up of Russianisms or, indeed, any perception tests or attitudinal surveys using sociolinguistic methods of investigation.

Under Communism the prerequisites for more widespread change 'from above' pertained: namely, the perceived necessity for lexical innovation, and the unqualified support of the state apparatus. The language of the Party elite and high-ranking military circles contained numerous lexical borrowings, especially in the heyday of Stalinism, when Czechoslovak society was subjected to Sovietization in its most extreme form. Other apparatchiks and beneficiaries of the regime, including managers, planners, personnel officers and Communist hacks, also drew to varying degrees on politically inspired loanwords as a manifestation of their ideological engagement. However, perhaps unsurprisingly, there appears to have been little enthusiasm for relexification and lexical replacement 'from below'. The tendency of the general public to eschew the more ideologically loaded Russianisms (except in relation to the USSR, and as occasional expressions of irony in private conversation) bears testimony to the extent to which people rejected their subordination to the Kremlin. It also testifies to their

[11] František Daneš et al., 'Situace a celkový stav dnešní češtiny', in *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíciletí*, Prague, 1997, pp. 19–20.

[12] As April MacMahon, *Understanding Language Change*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 201, has pointed out, 'the most common and obvious motive for borrowing is sheer necessity: speakers may have to refer to some unfamiliar object or concept for which they have no word in their own language'. David Crystal, *English as a Global Language*, Cambridge, 1997, has attributed the global spread of English more specifically to a combination of political and economic factors and, more recently, to the role of the electronic revolution.

sense of alienation from Czechoslovakia's own socialist system, and to the rigidity of its political and economic structures. Even many Czechs who initially supported Communist ideals soon came to realize that the Soviet model was excessively bureaucratic and centralized, and that it stifled initiative. Labov and other sociolinguists have suggested that in large-scale societies where upward mobility is possible language change generally has a social motivation.[13] Werner Winter has similarly argued that the unifying factor for all borrowing is probably projected gain; that is to say, speakers believe that by changing the way they speak some material or social benefit will accrue to them.[14] For most Czechs (in common with the citizens of the other Soviet satellite states) the practical advantages to be gained from expressions of allegiance to the Party were outweighed by their distaste for its inflexible and repressive policies, and its crude attempts to manipulate reality.

The Russian language made its most significant contribution to those areas of the former USSR which were the least well developed, such as Central Asia and the Caucusus. Wolf Moskovich noted in the 1980s that 'Not less than half of all entries in a modern Soviet national language-Russian dictionary consist of Russian borrowings and calques'.[15] This process of lexical adoption was considerably facilitated in the Soviet Union by the fact that Russian was effectively accorded the status of a lingua franca.[16] Russian had very much less to contribute to Czechoslovakia's economic and technological advancement, and was generally rejected as a medium for communication with other peoples. Bohemia and Moravia, in particular, enjoyed relative prosperity in T. G. Masaryk's 'bourgeois' First Republic, and retained quite a strong industrial and agricultural base, despite the depression of the 1930s, the German occupation and the drought of 1947. As a result, the Czech lexicon was already sufficiently sophisticated to be able either to create vocabulary from its indigenous stock of morphemes or to adopt 'international' words to fill in gaps, and to express new meanings.

Pro-Soviet propaganda in the Communist media, enforced flag waving and ubiquitous slogans such as 'Se Sovětským Svazem na věčné časy' (With the Soviet Union till eternity) served as a constant reminder of the limitations of national self-determination. For many people the

[13] See William Labov, *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors*, Oxford, 1999, pp. 300–09.

[14] Werner Winter, 'Areal Linguistics: Some General Considerations', pp. 135–48, in Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Current Trends in Linguistics. Volume 11: Diachronic, Areal and Typological Linguistics*, The Hague, 1973.

[15] This figure includes a large number of 'internationalisms' adopted via Russian. See Wolf Moskovich, 'Planned Language Change in Russia since 1917', in Michael Kirkwood (ed.), *Language Planning in the Soviet Union*, London, 1989, p. 88.

[16] See Bernard Comrie, *The Languages of the Soviet Union*, Cambridge, 1981, pp. 33–37.

Russian language itself became a potent symbol of externally imposed ideological values. The compulsory study of Russian in basic and secondary school, and the promotion of the language in higher education, together with obligatory courses in Marxism-Leninism, proved largely counter-productive. Alexandr Stich has pointed out that pupils lacked any positive motivation to learn Russian, and has described the results as 'quite deplorable', in view of the efforts and resources invested in the subject.[17] The strong focus on Soviet reality and socialist dogma in other subjects likewise accentuated negative perceptions of the Russian-speaking world. Even the mandatory forms of address in the classroom, 'soudružko učitelko' (comrade teacher) or, less frequently, 'soudruhu učiteli', bore the hallmark of Soviet influence; hence the popular slogan during the Velvet Revolution, 'Paní učitelko, už nám nemusíte lhát!' (Miss [literally: Mrs teacher], you no longer have to lie to us!). The Soviet model and terminology adopted by the armed forces and, to a lesser extent, the security services also appears to have fostered resentment rather than winning converts.[18] Soviet culture similarly did little to raise the profile of the language or the USSR, although one film export, the children's fairy-tale *Mrazík* (*Morozko*, Aleksandr Rou, 1964), won an unlikely and enduring place in Czech hearts.[19]

Czech is phonologically and morphologically well adapted to incorporate Russian borrowings. Even where Russian lexical items contain sounds and stress patterns unfamiliar to Czech, the adjustments required to make them conform to Czech pronunciation norms are generally small. Typically the changes necessary for naturalizing Russianisms include shifts in stress patterns (with all words theoretically requiring first-syllable stress in Czech), the elimination of any reduction in Russian unstressed vowels, as evidenced in 'komsomol', and selective depalatalization, as in the 'l' sound in the legionary term 'plený'/'pleňas' (captive).[20] However, these changes have never been part of an evolutionary process occurring within a dialect continuum, but have

[17] Alexandr Stich, 'Existuje u nás pocit ohrožení jazyka?', *Naše řeč*, 78, 1995, 2, pp. 61–73 (hereafter, 'Existuje u nás pocit ohrožení jazyka?') (p. 64).

[18] It has been argued that the language of the military and the StB was replete with Russianisms, such as 'ugroza hrozí' (a threat menaces) and 'ustanovka' (setting up), but the number of direct borrowings has probably been overstated. Moreover, the noun 'ugroza'/'úhroza' was already well established in legionary slang. See, for example, Ondřej Štindl, *Chránit češtinu se vyplácí*, 2004, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/czech/domesticnews/story/2004/04/040401_analyza.shtml> [accessed 14 May 2004], and *Rozhovor Listů s Radkem Schovánkem*, 'Co s archivy StB: Otevřít, nebo spálit?', 2001, <http://www.cibulka.net/nnoviny/nn2001/nn05_2001/obsah/03.htm> [accessed 21 October 2003].

[19] *Mrazík*, which drew on Russian folk tradition, is still shown at Christmas on Czech television, and has always enjoyed greater acclaim amongst Czech viewers than in Russia itself.

[20] See Karel Hausenblas and Jaroslav Kuchař (principal eds), *Čeština za školou*, Prague, 1979, p. 271.

merely represented the best attempts by native speakers to accommodate loanwords within the framework of Czech pronunciation and phonotactic rules. Although Czech is sufficiently close to Russian to conform to Heinz Kloss's definition of an *Ausbau* language (that is, it belongs to the same broad Slavonic language group), the two societies have been geographically removed from one another, and Czech cultural identity has always been closely bound up with its linguistic heritage.[21] The autonomy of Czech has thus not been subject to erosion by the influence of Russian, in a way that has happened with Belarusian and, to a lesser extent, Ukrainian.

George Thomas has analysed intra-Slavonic borrowing in detail, and has highlighted an important distinction between migratory loans attributable to unconscious processes and, of greater relevance here, 'the conscious utilization of materials from other Slavic languages'.[22] Where lexical changes have been 'a result of a conscious activity, of purposeful management of language', to use Jan Petr's words, they have tended to have a clearly defined socio-political purpose.[23] In the Communist period it was precisely the socio-political implications of the Russianisms (rather than Russianisms per se) which so many Czechs found unpalatable.[24] It would seem that the linguistic proximity of Russian to Czech may actually have served to restrict the semantic and stylistic scope of the Soviet loanwords, and to have reinforced the status of 'indigenous' and Western terms. As fellow Slavs, Czechs were sensitized to the morphological similarity which many of the Russian and Soviet neologisms bore to established lexical items, such as 'partije' (party) for the normal colloquial form 'partaj' [from German] and 'idejně' (ideologically) for 'ideově', and they felt little inclined to 'normalize' their usage or to broaden their functional range.[25] Words

[21] Heinz Kloss contrasts *Ausbau* languages with *Abstand* languages (that is, distant languages such as Albanian and Basque). See '"Abstand" Languages and "Ausbau" Languages', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 9, 1967, pp. 29–41.

[22] George Thomas, 'Problems in the Study of Migratory Loanwords in the Slavic Languages', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 3, 1985, pp. 307–25, p. 316. Thomas interprets individual instances of borrowing as part of a more general phenomenon of lexical diffusion.

[23] Jan Petr, 'On the Socially Conditioned Nature of Language', *Reader in Czech Sociolinguistics*, Jan Chloupek and Jiří Nekvapil et al. (eds), Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1987, pp. 19–28 (p. 23).

[24] A study by A. Tejnor et al., *Cizí slova v českém jazyce*, Prague, 1971, pp. 67–69, found that only 46 per cent of the population were opposed to the use of loanwords from 'Russian and other Slavonic languages'.

[25] The constraints of lexical borrowing in closely related languages are highly problematic, and are connected to the specific circumstances and requirements of a speech community. Bernard Comrie has shown in his study of Highland New Guinea languages that easily recognized borrowings can sometimes cover a wide range of semantic domains. See 'Language Contact, Lexical Borrowing, and Semantic Fields', pp. 73–86, in Dicky Gilbers, John Nerbonne and Jos Schaeken (eds), *Languages in Contact*, Amsterdam and New York, 2000.

generally only took on new, fully standardized meanings where they filled a lexical gap, as in the semantic extension 'brigadýr' (literally: brigadier), which was used in Communist times for the leader of an agricultural brigade.

Even pre-Soviet twentieth-century Russian borrowings tended to be short-lived, stylistically marked, and confined to narrow semantic domains. Despite the enduring appeal to some Czechs of pan-Slavonic acculturation, and the positive predisposition of the legionaries to Russian as the mother tongue of an ally, there was no reason to adopt Russianisms where there were no lexical gaps. Most people instinctively understood that, in Antonín Dostál's words, 'the nation is better represented by its own language than by the language of another nation'.[26] Legionary literature contained numerous near-identical Russianisms, such as 'dobrovolci' (volunteers) for 'dobrovolníci' and 'náčalstvo' for 'náčelnictví' (leadership), and related loanwords including 'cerkev' (Orthodox church [building]) (Czech 'církev': church [institution]), 'drug' (friend) (Czech 'druh': companion), 'kuda' (whither) (Czech 'kudy': which way) and 'pohoda' (weather) (Czech: fair weather).[27] It also included a large number of morphological false friends, such as 'dělo' (business) (Czech: cannon), 'lávka' (shop) (Czech: footbridge), 'naznačit (tribunál, komitét)' (to set up, appoint [a tribunal, committee]) (Czech: to indicate), 'plen' (captivity) (Czech: plundering), 'trup' (corpse) (Czech: trunk), 'úžasný' (awful) (Czech: amazing) and 'žalování' (soldier's pay) (Czech: sneaking).[28] However, they had very limited functions, and did not contribute significantly to the development of the Czech lexicon. Rudolf Medek's humorous comment, cited in *Příruční slovník jazyka českého*, 1938–40 (henceforth, *PSJČ*), illustrates the relative obscurity of these entries: 'Did you yearn to live without leadership ['načalstvo'], you lazy bumpkin ['chám']?'[29]

There have been six principal types of borrowing which have influenced the development of the Czech lexicon since the end of the nineteenth century: (i) Russian and Soviet terms which underwent little or no semantic change; (ii) semantic extensions to existing Czech lexical items, based on the Russian model; (iii) loan translations (that is, calques or semantic borrowing based directly on Russian); (iv) loan

[26] Antonín Dostál, 'Concerning New and Old Forms of Purism in the Czech Literary Language', *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, 25, 1982, pp. 109–14 (p. 113). Němec, in 'Jazyk československých legií v Rusku', is at pains to stress the differences in the legionaries' attitudes to Russian and German.

[27] The form 'církev' was occasionally used as a synonym for 'cerkev'.

[28] The noun 'dělo' is found in the phrase 'přišel jsem po dělu' (I came on business).

[29] Bohuslav Havránek, Vladimír Šmilauer and Alois Získal (eds), *Příruční slovník jazyka českého*, 9 vols, Prague, 1935–37, 1937–38, 1938–40, 1941–43, 1944–48, 1948–51, 1951–53, 1953–55, 1955–57. Note that the noun 'chám' is also a morphological Russianism, thus accentuating the esoteric nature of the term 'načalstvo'.

transfers (freer or partial translations of the foreign model, including hybrid compounds); (v) lexical analogies (terms adopted as a result of contact with Russian or Soviet society, but with no direct reference to the Russian language); and (vi) cultural borrowing or words relating to phenomena associated predominantly or exclusively with Russian or Soviet reality.

Morphological Russianisms, such as 'kombajnér' (combine operator), originally from English, and 'lajka' (husky), comprised a large percentage of the Soviet-inspired terms.[30] Semantic extensions often involved the redefinition of a Czech term without a Russian morphological equivalent, such as 'distribuce' (Russian: *raspredelenie*) (distribution > internal market) and 'přestavba' (perestroika), or, perhaps more frequently, reflected a combination of linguistic and political influences, as in 'brigáda' (brigade > group of voluntary workers) and 'narušitel (státní hranice)' (peacebreaker > trespasser [on a foreign territory]). Amongst the calques adopted in the socialist period, which constituted straightforward translations from Russian, were 'celosvazový' (all-union), 'Děda mráz' (*ded-moroz*) (Father Christmas [literally: Grandfather Frost]), 'kosmická lod'' (*kosmicheskii korabl'*) (space ship), 'strojhodina' (*mashino-chas*) (machine hour) and 'úchylkář' (*uklonist*) (political deviationist from Marxism). There were also hybrid forms, composed of part-loan, part-calque, such as 'všesvazový' (*vsesoiuznyi*) (all-union), which is statistically over twice as common as 'celosvazový'. Loan transfers from Russian were not especially common, although examples included 'nadplán' (or, as once also suggested, 'protiplán') (Russian: *sverkhplanovaia produktsiia*) (production above the plan) and 'vědecko-výzkumný' (scientific-research) which, according to Otto Exner, was probably a mistranslation of *nauchno-issledovatel'skii*.[31] Lexical analogies were a stage further removed, in that they primarily reflected 'cultural' influence, and any linguistic similarities were of secondary importance; for example, 'Gottwaldův řád' (the Order of Gottwald) (compare Russian: *Orden Lenina* — the Order of Lenin), 'po stranické linii' (following the Party line) and 'široké masy' (the broad masses). The abbreviated titles of numerous organizations also fitted into this class, and included 'KSČ' ('Komunistická strana Československa') (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia), 'VŽKG' ('Vítkovické železárny Klementa Gottwalda') (The Vítkovice Klement Gottwald Ironworks) and 'ZVIL' ('Závody Vladimíra Iljiče Lenina') (The Vladimir Ilich Lenin Works [in Plzeň]). The final group of loanwords consisted of terms relating to Russian or Soviet reality, such as 'dům oddechu'

[30] Note that most of the examples cited conform strictly to Czech morphological rules in the nominative plural and oblique cases, hence 'kombajnéři' and 'bez lajek'.

[31] Otto Exner, 'Některé charakteristické rysy úředního jazyka komunistické éry', *Naše řeč*, 79, 1996, 2, pp. 91–98 (p. 93).

(house of rest), 'jolka' (new-year tree), 'kulturní dům'/'dům kultury' (palace of culture), 'lesopark' (forest park) and 'park kultury a oddechu' (culture and relaxation park). Entries which fell into the category of cultural borrowing were frequently qualified in the dictionary by a phrase such as 'v ruském/sovětském prostředí' (in a Russian/Soviet setting), and have always sounded arcane and esoteric to ordinary Czechs. Graham Martin has called such terms 'lexical exoticisms' (with reference to Russianisms in German), although the Czech definition of exoticisms is far more prescriptive, and usually excludes European lexical borrowings.[32]

Despite the various factors that may have restricted the impact of Russian on Czech, the relationship between the two peoples resulted in the pre-1989 Czech lexicon embracing far more references to Russian and Soviet phenomena than their West European neighbours. Many of the lexical items adapted and adopted from Russian had their origins in other languages, and underwent significant semantic shift, but Czechs would not necessarily have been cognizant either of their change in meaning or of their loanword trajectory.[33] More important than the etymology of the loanwords in the context of this study is people's perception of their provenance and their 'cultural' associations.

*Pre-Soviet lexical borrowings*

While this article is not primarily concerned with lexical influences from the tsarist period, a number of pre-revolutionary borrowings merit a mention because of what they reveal about the scope of the contact between Russia and the Czech-speaking lands after 1900. The loanwords relating to pre-revolutionary Russia are divided here into general referents and historical referents.[34] Some of the terms reinforced by the legionaries, both by word of mouth and through their fictional and non-fictional writings, are cited elsewhere in the article if they are not felt to be identified primarily with the soldiers.

[32] Graham Martin, 'Some Considerations of Russian Influences on the German Language', in Ian Maclachlan and James Supple (eds), *Linguistic Interactions*, Modern Language Studies, 3, Strathclyde, 1999, pp. 36–48 (hereafter, 'Some Considerations of Russian Influences on the German Language') (p. 37). 'Exoticisms' depicting Russian (as opposed to Soviet) reality included 'bohatýr' (bogatyr, hero in folk tales), 'gorodky' (gorodki, game akin to skittles) and 'skomoroch' (wandering minstrel-cum-clown).

[33] Russianisms in this category include 'artěl' (artel, co-operative association) originally from Italian, 'drožka' (drozhka, hackney carriage) from Polish, 'kadet' (Cadet) from French, 'katorga' (hard labour) from Greek, 'karaul' (guard) from Turkish, 'dispečer' (transport supervisor, air-traffic controller) from English (dispatcher) and 'šturmovština' (rushed [last minute] work) from German.

[34] All the definitions given in this article in English are mine, unless otherwise stated. Note that many of the examples cited in this section were well established in the pre-twentieth-century Russian lexicon, and were also recorded in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Czech writings. Historical referents are dealt with in greater detail in Tom Dickins, 'Representations of Russian and Soviet Society in Standard Czech Reference Dictionaries', *Central Europe*, 2, 2004, 2, pp. 133–59 (pp. 136–41).

Statistically many of the general referents found in the twentieth-century Czech lexicon were from the following (not mutually exclusive) domains: Russian folklore, literature, music and dance; titles and descriptions of people; religion, and food and drink. Examples referring to cultural phenomena included some familiar to speakers of non-Slavonic languages, such as 'bylina' (old Russian epic poem), 'chorovod' (Russian round dance for girls, accompanied by song) and 'kozáček' (*kazachok*, Cossack squat dance). Amongst the many nouns relating to people were 'burlak' (barge hauler [on the Volga]), 'bojar' (boyar) and 'gosudar' (tsar). Religious referents were also quite common; for instance, 'chlyst' (Khlyst, member of a religious sect), 'pop' (Orthodox priest) and 'sobor' (Orthodox cathedral). Culinary terms included 'boršč' (borsch), 'samohonka' (moonshine) and 'šašlik' (shashlik).

Other categories especially worthy of note were items of clothing; the natural world; buildings and institutions; administrative units and settlements; transport; weights and measurements; the written language; currency; science, and miscellaneous artefacts and products. The variations in the written form of several of the borrowings cited below and elsewhere in this article is evidence of their lack of a fully codified status.[35] Examples included 'dušegrějka'/'dušehrejka'/'dušehrějka' (women's sleeveless jacket), 'láptě' (bast shoe) and 'menčikov' (type of cloak named after Alexander Menshikov); 'sajga'/'sajka' (saiga antelope), 'semcha' (salmon) and 'tajga' (taiga); 'dača'/'dáča' (dacha), 'duma' and 'chutor' (farmstead); 'gubernie' (province), 'selo' (large village) and 'volost' (volost', smallest administrative division); 'drožka' (drozhka, hackney carriage), 'kibitka' (covered wagon) and 'trojka' (troika); 'aršín' (arshin, measure of distance), 'pud' (pood, measure of weight) and 'versta' (verst, measure of distance); 'azbuka' (the Russian alphabet) and 'bukva' (Russian letter); 'asignace' (eighteenth-century paper money), 'moneta' (coin) and 'romanovka' (rouble used under Nicholas II); 'mendělejevium' (mendelevium, element named after the Russian chemist D. I. Mendeleyev) and 'mičurinská genetika'/'mičurinství' (Michurin genetics), and 'machorka' (cheap coarse tobacco), 'papirosa' (type of Russian cigarette with cardboard mouthpiece) and 'samovar'.[36]

[35] Spelling only became more or less fixed in the 1950s. Since 1975 the transliteration of Russian has largely conformed to the Czech Technical Standard 010185, as defined by the Federal Office for Standardization and Measurements, now the Czech Standards Institute.

[36] The term 'dača'/'dáča' did not become rooted in everyday Czech, unlike *Datsche* in (East) German, despite being cited in *Ottův slovník naučný. Illustrovaná encyklopedie obecných vdomostí*, Prague, 1888–09. However, it occurs no fewer than fifty-one times (all except seven in the form 'dača') in *ČNK*, and may even have undergone a recent rise in frequency, especially in ironic usage.

The general referents of greatest interest in the context of this study are those relating to people since they have been more susceptible to semantic broadening. For example, the noun 'činovník' (high-ranking official in tsarist times), defined by *Ottův slovník naučný* (*OSN*) as 'a person appointed to the civil service in Russia', has been used in post-1945 Czech as a general synonym for 'official' or 'functionary', and occurs 364 times in *ČNK* in collocations as diverse as 'američtí činovníci' (American officials) (*Lidové noviny*, 1991), 'australský fotbalový činovník' (Australian football official) (*Lidové noviny*, 1993), 'bankovní činovníci' (bank officials) (*Hospodářské noviny*, 1995), 'činovník KGB' (KGB functionary) (*Respekt*, 1990) and 'činovníci Slavie' (officials of Slavie) (*Mladá fronta Dnes*, 1994 and 1996).[37] It can be used to describe representatives of all political organizations (sometimes with pejorative overtones), and is still found commonly in relation to sports clubs and associations.[38] Indeed, the lemma 'klub' (club) is statistically easily the most important collocate of 'činovník' and its derivatives, with sixteen occurrences and a t-score of 3.972 and Mutual Information (MI) score of 7.135, in the range 0 to 1, based on a minimum frequency of 3.[39] The t-score and MI score for the lemma 'činovník' as a collocate of 'klub' in the range −1 to 0 are very similar: 3.976 and 7.372, respectively. Most of my informants said that they use or hear 'činovník', although over two-thirds claimed that it is old-fashioned, and tends to relate to the socialist system.

Rather more obscure are the morphological Russianisms 'rozkolník' (Old Believer, schismatic), 'oblomovština'/'oblomovství' (chronic inertia [based on Goncharov's character Oblomov]) and 'jurodivý' (holy fool), which are all found in *ČNK*. The loanword 'rozkolník' briefly acquired the sense of 'political subversive' under Communism, and it retains shades of this meaning in the reference to 'a group of anti-Ceauşescu dissidents' cited in *Respekt* (1990).[40] A quotation from

[37] All the numbers of citations quoted refer to lemmas with either initial lower or upper case.

[38] Jaromír Bělič (ed.), *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (*SSČ*), Prague, 1994, (reprinted without amendments, 1998), appears to have been somewhat premature and over-prescriptive in proposing the definition 'řidč. *funkcionář*: č. sportovního oddílu' ('rare *a functionary*: . . . of a sports group').

[39] The t-score is considered to be the more reliable measure of the strength of a collocation for less frequently occurring word-forms. It is calculated by subtracting the expected number of co-occurrences for a word-form in the span of the node from the actual number of times that the co-occurring word-form is found in the span of the node, and then dividing the result by standard deviation. The MI-score compares the actual co-occurrence of a node and its collocate(s) with their expected co-occurrence, assuming that they are distributed randomly. A t-score of 2 or over and an MI-score of 3 or over can be regarded as statistically significant. Unless otherwise stated, all calculations use the range 0 to 1 or −1 to 0, based on a minimum frequency in the Corpus of 3. See Geoff Barnbrook, *Language and Computers*, Edinburgh, 1996, pp. 97–100, and Susan Hunston, *Corpora in Applied Linguistics*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 70–75.

[40] See, for example, *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, 4 vols, Prague, 1960–71.

*Týden* (1999) in *ČNK* attributes the reform movement of the 1960s to Dubček's inertia: 'Dubček, through his *oblomovism*, allowed the Prague Spring, but also laid it to rest through his inactivity'. The term 'jurodivý' and its derivatives occur fifty times in *ČNK*, and are thus, statistically at least, more important than 'rozkolník' or 'oblomovština'/'oblomovství'. Interestingly, it has occasionally been used outside any religious or specifically Russian context, as in the phrase 'ten rybář jurodivý' (that crazy angler) (*Domov*, 1996–98) or the description of Jethro Tull's flautist Ian Anderson as 'jurodivý pištec' (crazy piper) (*Mladá fronta Dnes*, 1997). Elsewhere it has more derogatory overtones, as in the quotation from *Lidové noviny — Nedělní příloha* (1994): 'Probably most dramatically affected was Prague Philosophical Faculty, which after 1968 was controlled by an unholy coalition of cynics and *crazy* Marxist-Leninists.'

Several of the lexical items cited above would be unfamiliar to all but the best informed of Czechs, and comparatively few would feature in their everyday vocabulary. However, some of the loanwords have undergone metaphorization, including 'kozák' (Cossack > old hand), 'Sibiř'/'Siberie' > 'sibérie' (Siberia > bitterly cold weather) and, at least according to *SSJČ*, 'Kamčatka' (Kamchatka > inhospitable backwater), as in the phrases 'byla venku hotová sibérie' (it was absolutely freezing outside) and 'starý/ostřílený kozák' (old soldier, seasoned campaigner). 'Kozák' is also found in the saying 'přišla bída na kozáka' (literally: 'misery has come to the Cossack'; the good times are over) and in the proverb 'trp, kozáče, budeš atamanem' ('be patient, Cossack, and you'll become an ataman'; stick it out, and you'll get your just rewards). The noun 'buran' rarely occurs in the sense of a snow-storm, but it may still be remembered with this meaning as the name of a Russian space shuttle, launched in 1988. Its homonym is a common colloquial term for *yokel*, and was used in the anti-Soviet slogan following the Warsaw Pact invasion in 1968, 'ruský buran hledá uran' (the Russian yokel is looking for uranium).

The semantic extension 'bumážka' (paper > specific/right piece of paper) was well known before Czechoslovakia became a nation state, and was frequently used by the legionaries, but it was in the Communist era that it became synonymous with excessive paperwork. A broadcast on Radio Prague (7 September 2002) by Věra Schmiedtová noted that 'The Russian Communist regime was renowned for the fact that everything needed an official stamp, which the bureaucracy and corruption exploited. *Official papers* were proof of the lack of freedom of the ordinary person living under the regime. Without the *official papers* you could not acquire anything or even get anywhere'.[41] While

[41] See Věra Schmiedtová, *Čeština, jak ji neznáte: Rusismy*, 2002, <http://www.radio.cz/cz/clanek/31951> [accessed 5 August 2004].

paperwork and rubber-stamping undoubtedly flourished under Communism, it should be noted that bureaucracy has much older antecedents in Austro-Hungary, whose legacy remains in evidence today. The lemmas 'bumaga'/'bumága' and their derivatives, such as 'bumážka', are felt to be obscure in modern Czech, although they occur twenty-four times in *ČNK*.

Amongst better educated Czechs, many of the terms relating to Russian culture and, in particular, to folklore would still be familiar, as would those lexical items which are internationally recognized, including the names of institutions and various traditional modes of transport. Food and drink from Russia and the former USSR have had comparatively little impact on Czech cuisine, although 'boršč' (cited fifty-two times in *ČNK*), 'piroh'/'pirožek' (pie) (seventy-seven citations), 'samohonka' (thirty-eight) and 'šašlik' (nineteen), are still generally known, while 'bliny'/'blinčiky' (pancakes), 'kvas' (kvass), 'malakov' (type of sweet cake), 'pelmeně' (kind of ravioli), 'rasolnik' (meat or fish soup with pickled cucumbers), 'ščі' (cabbage soup) and 'soljanka' (solyanka, soup with capers, olives, etc. and meat or fish), are found in some Czech recipe books.[42] Other culinary terms which have appeared in the Czech lexicon include 'malosol' (slightly salted caviar), 'vareník' (curd or fruit dumpling) and 'žžonka' (a type of hot punch).

Czechs' knowledge of pre-Soviet history tends to be patchy, and broadly correlates, on the one hand, to their age, interests and general level of education and, on the other, to the extent to which they were subject to the influence of 'official' interpretations of the past at different periods in the development of Czechoslovak society. Publications in the First Republic (1918–38) and the Third Republic (1945–48) tended to adopt a disengaged attitude to tsarist Russia, but were generally critical of tsarist absolutism and autocracy. Works produced under the Protectorate (1939–45) and Communism (1948–89) were far more prescriptive and selective. Since 1989 scholars have continued to acknowledge the excesses of the tsarist period, but have rejected the formulaic interpretations of the Communist era.[43]

All the Communist-period publications, from school textbooks to the most authoritative historical studies, reiterated a Manichaean opposition between the forces of good and evil. The largely irreproachable factions and individuals identified with the development of 'leninismus'

[42] Terms for champagne and vodka remain well known to Czechs; for example, 'Sovětskoje/Russkoje igristoje' (Soviet/Russian sparkling wine) and 'Stoličná'/'Stoličnaja' (Stolichnaya vodka). Also familiar from fiction is the vodka drunk by the Czech legionaries — 'Pravá carská'. Martin, 'Some Considerations of Russian Influences on the German Language', p. 40, notes that *solyanka* 'affects everyday fare in eastern parts of Germany', but it is has never been widely eaten in Czechoslovakia.

[43] See, for instance, Milan Švankmajer, Václav Veber, Zdeněk Sládek, Vladislav Moulis and Libor Dvořák, *Dějiny Ruska*, Prague, 1994 (hereafter, Švankmajer, Veber, Sládek, Moulis and Dvořák, *Dějiny Ruska*).

(Leninism) and 'marx-leninismus'/'marxismus-leninismus' (Marxism-Leninism) were contrasted with their manifold enemies: 'menševici' (Mensheviks), 'likvidátoři' (liquidationists) and 'mezirajonci' (mezhraiontsi, a centrist grouping), as well as 'bakuninisté' (Bakuninists), 'černosotněnci' (members of the 'Black Hundred'), 'eseři'/'levíí sociální revolucionáři' (Socialist Revolutionaries), 'narodníci' (narodniks), 'otzovisté' (extremist advocates of 'recallism') and 'ultimatisté' (more moderate 'recallists'). Similarly subject to censure were tendencies and movements such as 'chvostism(us)' ('khvostism', tailism), 'panrusismus' (Pan-Russianism), 'panslavismus' (pan-Slavism) and 'slavjanofilství' (Slavophilism), and individuals like Rasputin and Stolypin, whose names were cited in *SSJČ* in the phrases 'rasputin(ov)ský vliv' (Rasputin's influence), 'rasputin(ov)ská kamarila' (the Rasputin clique) and 'stolypinská reakce' (the Stolypin reaction).[44]

*The linguistic legacy of the Great War and the Russian Revolution*

Russian lexical 'exoticisms' from 1914 to 1918 again fit into two main categories: terms relating specifically to revolutionary phenomena, and the 'glorious words' and referents of the legionaries.[45] The former are the better known, and can be sub-divided into three broad areas: movements, tendencies, organizations and their members; miscellaneous terms associated with individuals, and historical events. The latter are significant both because legionisms have only recently been studied in detail and because their provenance is barely recognized after the end of the First Republic.[46]

Interpretations of the merits and shortfalls of the Russian Revolution varied widely in the Czech-speaking lands, depending both upon individual perspectives and the nature of the regime in power. The radical solutions of the Bolsheviks met with strong disapproval from T. G. Masaryk's Castle Group in the First Republic, but had the support of a significant number of Communists. The definition of the term 'bolševictví' (later 'bolševismus') (Bolshevism) in *Masarykův slovník naučný* was unambiguously hostile: 'a revolutionary social movement which seeks to change social and economic order through usurping power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the violent expropriation of

[44] 'Khvostism' was a term used by Lenin, prior to 1905, to criticize socialist 'opportunists' who served to limit the achievements of the proletariat by lagging behind revolutionary developments, and targeting less politically conscious workers.

[45] František Trávníček, 'Příspěvek k mluvě naší sibiřské armády', *Naše řeč*, 4, 1920, 6–7, pp. 203–09 (p. 203), used the term 'slavná slova' to describe lexical items introduced by the Czechoslovak legionaries in Russia. Paradoxically, he was also one of the first lexicographers to fail to identify their origins in the Communist era.

[46] The legionaries posed a problem to the Communist authorities since many of them had found themselves in armed combat with the Reds, as they fought their way across Siberia. See Bradley, *The Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, 1914–1920*.

property. It does not recognize democracy or the legal bases of present-day society. The state deems the establishment to be transitory. It is strictly centralized and authoritarian, which distinguishes it from anarchism.'[47] So worried were the authorities in the 1920s by the threat of Bolshevism that the Censor Advisory Board, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, banned many pro-revolutionary Russian films (including Pudovkin's *Mother* and Eisenstein's *Battleship Potemkin*).[48]

During the German occupation, especially after June 1941, official attitudes to the Revolution hardened, and historical references such as 'Čtyřdohoda' (Four-Power Agreement) were often expunged from the printed lexicon. The Soviet liberation of much of Czechoslovakia, accompanied by disillusionment with the bourgeois powers, led to a reappraisal of the Russian Revolution, and to radical left-wing political and economic reform. Even the liberal-minded Ferdinand Peroutka, who had been closely associated with T. G. Masaryk, and belonged to Karel Čapek's Friday Circle ('pátečníci'), concluded in the aftermath of the war that capitalism had lost the political argument, and that socialism was an inevitable necessity.[49] In his collection of editorials and articles, *Tak nebo tak*, which provides a fascinating insight into post-war attitudes, he argued: '1917 was the beginning of a new era for mankind. [. . .] That huge and formerly lazy country [Russia] has stirred. The old Asian laziness was shaken to its foundations. Where the notion of "Holy Russia" and other pretexts for idleness previously reigned, there is today a hive of activity.'[50]

Throughout the Communist period most Czechs viewed the largely uncritical official praise for the achievements of the Revolution with increasing cynicism. The combination of Stalinist terror and the violent suppression of the Prague Spring served to undermine the faith even of some of the more ardent revolutionaries. The term 'bolševik' (Bolshevik) and its derivatives have always tended to have negative connotations in Czech, and since 1989 they have rarely been used in a positive sense.[51] However, several of the sixty-four entries for 'bolševická revoluce' (Bolshevik Revolution) in *ČNK* are noteworthy for their impartiality; for example, 'the Russian Bolshevik Revolution

[47] Jan Dvořáček et al., *Masarykův slovník naučný*, 7 vols, Prague, 1925–33.

[48] Relations with Soviet Russia improved considerably throughout the 1930s, and censorship was gradually relaxed as the perceived danger of revolution declined. See, for example, *Russian Films in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Germany in the Twenties and Thirties*, 2004, <http://www.deutsches-filminstitut.de/collate/collate_sp/se/se_04g01a.html> [accessed 17 December 2004].

[49] The Friday Circle comprised influential intellectuals and writers who held regular Friday meetings with T. G. Masaryk and Eduard Beneš.

[50] Ferdinand Peroutka, *Tak nebo tak*, Prague, 1947, p. 37.

[51] Even supporters of the KSČM (successor to the KSČ) have largely eliminated it from their lexicon.

remains an interesting and important theme, and its consequences for the world form an essential part of the experiences of most of the generations of people who are alive' (*Respekt*, 1997).[52] Amongst the linguistic legacies of the Revolution is the term 'bezprizorný' (homeless), which is still widely used in Czech. It occurs 143 times in *ČNK*, including thirty-six times in the phrase 'bezprizorné dítě/děti' (latch-key child/children), and was known to all but one of my informants.[53] The collocate 'dítě' has an especially high t-score of 5.816 and an MI-score of 8.645, while 'zvíře' (animal) has scores of 2.23 and 8.552, respectively.

The term 'kadet' (Cadet) and its derivatives, in the Russian context, provide a good illustration of the way in which emotionally charged vocabulary was used to promote a particular perception of reality.[54] *Přiruční slovník naučný* (*PSN*) identified three distinct historical periods in the anti-Bolshevik role of the Cadets, of which the latter two are relevant here: 'After the February bourgeois democratic revolution of 1917 [...] they conducted imperialist policies against the people, and actively supported the counter-revolutionary conspiracies of Kornilov', and 'After the Great October Socialist Revolution they were the main source of inspiration for and organizers of Civil War, counter-revolutionary conspiracy and rebellions.'[55] The Cadets, together with the other representatives of Russian liberalism — the Octobrists (1906–12) and the Progressive Party (1912–17) — are now treated much more dispassionately. A recent history of Russia has noted that 'Russian liberalism, of course, had all the defects and merits of European liberalism. It strove for freedom in all spheres, and wanted common sense to be the organizing principle of public authority; it recognized human rights, and it advocated democracy. At the same time it was politically half-hearted and indecisive, and was afraid to take the political initiative'.[56]

Perhaps the most vilified opponents of socialist progress after 1948 were the kulaks, as evidenced by the definition of 'kulactvo v SSSR' (the kulaks in the USSR) in *PSN*: 'At the time of the Civil War, 1918–20, the kulaks, who had significant supplies of food, tried to starve out the young Soviet Republic.' The noun 'kulak' later became synonymous in

[52] The lemma 'revoluce' is the most common collocate of 'bolševický', with a t-score of 7.931.

[53] One of the readers of this article noted that the meaning of 'bezprizorný' has expanded to take in a wide range of other helpless individuals, including people who are lost in an unfamiliar environment.

[54] According to Moskovich, 'Planned Language Change in Russia since 1917', p. 89, Lenin introduced thirty-four derivatives of the word 'kadet' in Russian. In spite of its negative associations under Communism, 'kadet' continues to be used in Czech in the positive sense of 'dab hand' or 'wizard'.

[55] Vladimír Procházka (principal ed.), *Přiruční slovník naučný*, Prague, 1962–67 (4 vols).

[56] Švankmajer, Veber, Sládek, Moulis and Dvořák, *Dějiny Ruska*, p. 304.

Soviet speak with bourgeois exploitation, and the derivative Czech verbs 'odkulaočvati'/'odkulčiti' (to liquidate the kulaks) and 'rozkulačovati'/'rozkulčiti' (to expropriate from the kulaks) acquired positive connotations under Communism which belied the barbarity of enforced collectivization. *PSN*, for instance, explicitly praised the 'significant task' undertaken by the 'výbory chudiny' (Russian: *kombedy*) (Committees of the Poor, 1918) and their Ukrainian equivalents 'komnězamy' (active from 1920) in 'their struggle against the kulaks', and in 'consolidating Soviet authority in the countryside'.[57] It is worth noting here that the Russian loanword 'kolektivizace' (collectivization) occurs 147 times in *ČNK*, and is statistically far more common than the Czech term 'združstevnění'.[58]

The Russian Revolution also gave rise to a number of short-lived neologisms derived from the names of anti-Bolshevik military leaders: 'kapelovci' (Kappel's forces), 'kerenština' (the activities of Kerenskii's men), 'kolčakovština' (the activities of Kolchak's men), 'kornilovci' (Kornilov's forces) and 'wrangelovci' (members of the White Guard under Wrangel).[59] Other opponents of Bolshevism included the 'basmači' (Basmachs, anti-Soviet movement in Central Asia) and 'hajdamáci' (Haydamaks, anti-Bolshevik cavalry). Amongst the innumerable lexical items relating to the victory of their Bolshevik enemies were 'revoluční tribunál' (Revolutionary Tribunal), 'sovděp' (Soviet deputy) and 'vojenský komisař'/'vojenkomisař' (military commissar). Some of the terms applied to the Bolsheviks were originally regarded as legionary slang, including 'krásnoarmějec' (member of the Red Army), 'gvardějec'/'krasnogvardějec' (member of the Red Guard) and 'rudoarmějec' (member of the Red Army).

The loanwords of the legionaries comprised the second principal category of Russian lexical borrowings from the early twentieth century. The close-knit community of soldiers to some extent developed their own sociolect both to depict and to ironize their new surroundings.[60] However, their terms went largely unnoticed by academics after 1939, either because their provenance was seen as ideologically problematic or because they were deemed irrelevant. Scholars in the Protectorate and the Communist era had little choice but to ignore their legacy, and in the post-Communist period the legionisms have generally been

[57] Lenin had actually given the peasants their land in 1918, but in late 1929 Stalin began to implement a policy of collectivization through coercion and 'dekulakization', which resulted in the deaths of several million kulaks. See Geoffrey Hosking, *A History of the Soviet Union 1917–1991*, London, 1992, pp. 158–70.

[58] It is also cited once with the spelling 'kolektivisace'.

[59] Kerenskii's legacy was also recorded in the Czech lexicon in the title of the banknotes, known as 'kerenki', which were issued by his government.

[60] For a useful glossary of terms, see 'Slovníček' in Josef Kudela (ed.), *Deník plukovníka Šveca*, 5th edn, Prague, 1929, pp. 381–400.

regarded as too anachronistic to merit more detailed analysis. Once again there is a tendency amongst Czechs today merely to dismiss Russian influences as negative phenomena. For example, the literary critic Radko Pytlík is scathing in his re-evaluation of the artistic contribution of Jaroslav Hašek during his final three years as a political activist in Russia: 'For three years Hašek did not touch alcohol, but he did not write more than a handful of propagandistic articles. His humour became stilted, and Russianisms and vulgarisms slipped into his language.'[61] Although Pytlík's assessment of Hašek's creative output may, indeed, have some validity, the use of the co-ordinating conjunction 'and' invites the reader to make an explicit link between the ostensibly neutral noun 'Russianisms' and the descriptor 'vulgarisms' which is often associated with poor literary style. One of the salient features of Hašek's best prose is his use of coarse language, and he was by no means the only legionary writer to draw on Russianisms and other foreign borrowings to suggest the unusual linguistic milieu in which he found himself. It is interesting to note that František Ringo Čech does not appear to have been subjected to the same criticism for his use of Russian lexical items in his satirical treatment of Soviet society.[62]

Writers such as Hašek, Medek, Josef Kopta, František Langer and Jaroslav Kratochvíl, as well as T. G. Masaryk himself, played a vital role in promoting awareness of the role and linguistic contribution of the legionaries. Their borrowings fit into three broad sub-groups: peripheral citational terms, which remained largely unknown outside military circles, except to Russian speakers and devotees of legionary fiction; occasional lexical exoticisms and synonyms, which achieved recognition amongst a wider readership, and were acknowledged in some lexicographical sources, but were not fully naturalized in Czech, and those items of vocabulary, such as 'nálet' (air-raid), which became so well established in the mainstream lexicon that they ceased to be regarded as loanwords. This article considers all three types of legionism, although it should be stressed that the distinction is not always clear-cut. Some of the now obscure sounding terms, such as 'broněvik' (armoured train or car) and its variant colloquial forms 'bronírák' and 'bronýrák', and historically specific referents, including 'bombomet' (bomb launcher), were once considerably better known.

The main function of the purely citational terms was to provide local coloration to accounts of war-time reality. Phrases such as 'brat'ja

[61] Radko Pytlík, *Toulavé house*, 'Návrat', no date, <http://www.sweb.cz/radkopytlik/hasek.html> [accessed 14 September 2004]. See Radko Pytlík, *Toulavé house. Život Jaroslava Haška autora Osudů dobrého vojáka Švejka*, 3rd edn., revised and expanded, Prague, 1998. Hašek was imprisoned in 1915 in Darnitsa near Kiev, and thereafter in Totskoye near Buzuluk, before enrolling in the Czechoslovak Legion. Unlike most of his fellow legionaries, in 1918 he joined the Red Army and the Bolsheviks, and he refused to return home via France.

[62] František Ringo Čech, *Ruský týden*, Prague, 1990.

Slavjané' (Slavonic brothers), 'musí být Penza vzata' (Penza must be taken) and 'jakmile se linka osvobodí' (as soon as the line is cleared), could be readily understood due to their proximity to Czech. Others, including 'kdyby leh' (if he fell ill), 'nevážné položení/položenije' (poor situation), 'policejní upravlení' or 'policejnoje upravlenije' (police administration) and 'sejčasák' (person who says *seichas*, 'at once'), were usually glossed or explained parenthetically. The degree of morphological and phonological variation exhibited by a lexical borrowing often serves as an indication of its status in a language, as evidenced by the term 'charašo', 'chorošo' and 'karaša' (good, fine, OK). The anachronistic nature of this word and of 'pašol' (shove off) is accentuated in the first edition of *Slovník jazyka českého* by references to final syllable stress (which is unknown in any Czech dialect).[63]

The majority of the legionaries' citational terms were nouns, including several which were colloquial in character and light-hearted in tone. For example, there are at least three words for specific regiments derived from Russian: 'sobáčníci' ('the dog lovers', Fifth Regiment of the Czech Company), 'rumočníci' ('the [vodka] glasses', Jan Trotsky's regiment from Žižkov) and 'sibiráci' ('the Siberians', the Second [Siberian] Cavalry Regiment).[64] The soldiers sometimes jokingly referred to the Ukrainians by the old-fashioned, Russian colloquialisms 'Chachlák'/'Chochlák', 'Chachol'/'Chochol' and 'Chachluška'/'Chochluška'. *PSJČ*, 1935–37, offers a number of quotations to illustrate the use of these nouns, including Josef Holeček's remark: 'The Ukrainians [Chochláci] make fun of their dithering themselves.'[65] Several of the legionaries' other colloquialisms were directed against their opponents; for example, 'agitátor' (Bolshevik agitator; frequently one who seeks recruits to the Red Army) and 'bolšán' (Bolshevik), or 'avstrijský car' (Austrian emperor), 'Germánec' (German) and 'loskutná armáda' (patchwork army) for the motley assortment of soldiers who served in the Austro-Hungarian army. As the legionaries grew more tired of the conflict, and relations with their hosts worsened, they also adopted an increasing number of derogatory nouns to describe the Russians; for instance, 'bagán' (literally: peasant), 'bulka' (literally: bread roll), 'Moskal' (literally: Muscovite) and 'Ruští' (Russkies).[66]

[63] Pavel Váša and František Trávníček, *Slovník jazyka českého*, 1st edn (2 vols), Prague, 1937.

[64] See Němec, 'Jazyk československých legií v Rusku', pp. 34–35.

[65] Ukrainian itself contributed a few short-lived neologisms to legionary slang, including 'balákati' (to chatter), 'hrečni' (respectful people) and 'ladňutki' (decent people).

[66] Another favourite pejorative term of the soldiers — 'Rusák' (Russky) — is still found in contemporary Czech, and many other non-Russian Slavs continue to use 'Moskal'. See, for example, Jonathon Green, *Words Apart: The Language of Prejudice*, London, 1996, pp. 104–05, and Vladimir Shlyakov and Eve Adler, *Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions*, New York, 1995, p. 119.

Legionary slang drew heavily on irony, as in the phrases 'gramotnej' (literate [person]) to depict a soldier who avoided front-line action, 'molodci' (fine, courageous men) to designate cowards, and 'tovaryš' (literally: a journeyman, but suggestive of 'comrade' in Russian) for a Bolshevik-inclined Czech deserter.[67] Other citational terms denoting people worthy of contempt included 'buržuika paršivij' for 'prašivý buržoust' (lousy bourgeois), 'durák' (fool), 'nědogaj' (scoundrel), 'merzavec' (swine), 'rab' (slave), 'škurník'/'škůrník' (person concerned with self-advantage), 'týlová krysa' (rearguard rat) and 'trus', the literal translation of the Russian for 'coward', which was preserved by Julius Fučík in its adjectival form 'truslivý'. The word 'rab' later became a favourite borrowing of Czechoslovakia's first Communist president Klement Gottwald, who is credited in *SSJČ* with the phrase 'český dělník není rab' (the Czech worker is not a slave).

Most of the verbs and verbal phrases, cited in legionary literature, conveyed military reality. Amongst the more common were '(vy-)čistit (nějaký prostor)' (to clear [a certain space]), 'donést' (to report), 'formírovat (se)' (to form), 'forsírovat (Volhu)' (to force a crossing [of the Volga]), 'jevit se' (to turn up, report), 'jít v ataku' (to go on the offensive), 'karaulit' (to be on guard), 'nabljudat' (to carry out an inspection) and 'vzbuntovat se' (to mutiny). The examples used to illustrate 'formírovati' in *PSJČ*, 1935–37, included a quotation from T. G. Masaryk: 'Frič describes very entertainingly how he *formed* his Slovak platoon.' Legionary literature also contained a handful of unlikely citations which were not specifically military, including 'chlopotat' (to make efforts), 'končit s sebou' (to commit suicide), 'kutit' (to carouse), 'napravit (někoho někam)' (to send [someone somewhere]), 'odkázat se' (to refuse), 'poguljat' (to paint the town red), 'předat' (to hand over), 'překrátit' (to cease) and 'vozstanovit' (to renew). The verb 'kutit' presumably caught on thanks to the existence of its Czech homonym meaning 'to tinker around, do odd jobs', but it is more difficult to explain why, say, 'chlopotat' or 'vozstanovit' were borrowed.

Humour appears to have been a major motivation for the introduction of marginal loanwords. According to Němec, the noun 'dača' (dacha) became a jocular term for any kind of hastily erected emergency shelter; 'nabluďák', derived from the Russian *nabliudatel'nyi ballon* (observation balloon), was applied jokingly to a soldier's chock-full haversack, on account of its size, and 'výdumka' (literally: an invention) was used comically to describe an unlikely looking cap whose appearance suggested that thought had gone into the design. Amongst the soldiers' favourite puns, quoted by Němec, were 'vojna do oběda'

[67] Němec, 'Česká slova odboje', pp. 259 and 261.

(military service up to lunch) for the Russian *voina do pobedy* (war unto victory); 'Družina po obědě smrdí' (the Company stinks after lunch), for *Druzhina pobedy ili smerti* (the Company of Victory or Death); 'pluk Jana Trockého ze Žižkova' (Jan Trotsky's regiment from Žižkov [Prague]), for 'pluk Jana Žižky z Trocnova' (Jan Žižka's regiment from Trocnov [a village near České Budějovice]); 'aligátor' (aligator) for 'agitátor' (agitator), and 'rváč' (literally: a thug), from the Russian *vrach* (doctor), to denote a field surgeon.[68] Other transitory borrowings which may have been employed comically included the loan translation 'divobohatýři' (miraculous heroes) (from the Russian *chudobogatyri*), 'náhrada' (award), 'nášivky' (distinctions) and 'podvih' (act of heroism). It would be surprising if the arcane deferential forms of address, 'vaše blahorodí' (your Honour) and 'vaše prevoschoditělstvo' (your Excellency), and the equally non-Czech sounding military commands, 'krugom!' (about turn!), 'smirno!' (attention!) and 'vperjod!' (forward), all cited in legionary fiction, did not also feature in legionary banter.

The largest sub-group of occasional exoticisms (that is, phrases recognizable to many Czechs, but not in common currency outside legionary circles) again related directly to army life.[69] The names of military bodies were especially prominent in the legionaries' vocabulary; for example, 'část' for 'jednotka' (unit), 'inženýrná rota' (engineers), 'oddělení' from the Russian *otdelenie* (section) for 'družstvo' (squad), 'stroj' (military unit in formation) and '(v)zvod' for 'četa' (platoon). Some of the dictionary references to these terms added a metalinguistic comment to reinforce usage, as in the illustrations of 'komanda' for 'oddíl' (detachment) and 'korpus' (corps) in *PSJČ*, 1937–38: 'They said about themselves that they were soldiers from the engineer *command* which took care of the track in the tunnels' (Langer), and 'The aim was to build a corps or, as we would say in Russia, "korpus" from the original Company' (T. G. Masaryk). A few of these words remain known today, including 'batalion' for 'prapor' (battalion), 'odřad' (echelon) and 'úderná rota' (company of storm troopers). According to one of the contributors to a metalinguistic debate about 'odřad' (echelon) in *Lidové noviny* (1991), recorded in *ČNK*, 'the word [. . .] became fixed through a phonetic revision of the Russian word 'otrjad' [brigade]', which is also occasionally used in Czech.[70]

Several of the better established exoticisms described army ranks and functions, including 'artělščík' (non-commissioned officer in charge of

[68] See ibid., pp. 259–71.

[69] Several of the examples cited are referred to in Němec's article 'Jazyk československých legií v Rusku', pp. 25–39, and the classification suggested here broadly replicates his findings.

[70] All except one of the eleven references to 'odřad' in *ČNK* contributed to this debate.

provisions), 'časovoj' (sentry), 'divisionář' (battalion commander), 'hlavnokomandující' (commander-in-chief) and 'věstový' (orderly). More general loanwords for military personnel included 'denščík'/'dynščík' (batman, officer's servant), 'frontovik'/'frontovík' (front-line soldier), 'granátčík' for 'granátník' (grenadier), 'letčík' (pilot), 'nestrojový voják' (non-combatant soldier), 'střelok' (rifleman), 'vojenní' (soldiers) and the ironic expression 'zeml(j)ák'/'zemljáček'/'zemljačok' for a private soldier (literally: fellow countryman). Of these, three terms — 'bombometčík' (bomber), 'dežurný'/'děžurný' (man on duty) and 'matrós'/'matróz' (sailor) — remain reasonably well known in military discourse, although only 'bombometčík' might be said to have contributed to the core vocabulary of Czech (albeit as an historicism).[71]

The term 'geroj'/'heroj' (hero) was initially used by the legionaries in its literal sense, but increasingly came to denote somebody who masqueraded as a hero or, depending on context, even an outright coward. The form 'geroj', recorded fifteen times in *ČNK*, is unmistakably Russian, and nowadays nearly always implies ironic disapproval, except where it occurs as the old-fashioned compound noun 'Gorod-geroj' (Hero City). Its phonologically adjusted synonym, 'heroj' (nine citations), never became fully assimilated into Czech, although it remains familiar to educated speakers. 'Heroj' is statistically more common in *ČNK* than its Latin antecedent 'héros', and is still very occasionally used without reference to Russian or Soviet reality, as in the phrase 'heroj filmového plátna Rudolph Valentino' (the hero of the wide screen, Rudolph Valentino) (*Týden*, 1999).

Amongst the lexical items briefly adopted to describe war-time phenomena, were some regularly used by T. G. Masaryk, such as 'rozformování částí' (disbandment of the units) and 'rozval armády' (rout of an army). Other short-lived military borrowings, with which Masaryk would have been familiar, included 'artilerijský nabludatělný punkt' (artiliary observation point), 'bojnice' (embrasure), 'bunt' (rebellion) (cognate with 'buntovat' [to incite]), 'čin' (rank), 'front' (military front), 'karaul' (watch, guard), 'kurok' (cock [of a gun]), 'vojenoplenník' (prisoner of war), 'polní kaznačejstvo' (army finance department, paymaster), 'proryv' (breach), 'ústav' (order), 'vzryv' (explosion), 'zaňatí' (exercises) and 'žeton' (commemorative coin or medal).[72] The consistency of their phonological adaptation appears to confirm that they

[71] 'Bombometčík' occurs seventeen times in *ČNK*, 'děžurný'/'dežurný' and their derivatives nine times, and 'matrós'/'matróz' plus derivatives six times.

[72] The morphological Russianism 'front' was initially used as a synonym for 'fronta' (military front), but in Soviet times underwent a semantic extension to mean 'skupina armád' (group of armies). For a detailed discussion, see Jaromír Bělič, 'Nové údobí ve vývoji českého jazyka', *Naše řeč*, 38, 1955, 7–8, pp. 129–46 (p. 141). 'Žeton' is still commonly used in its older French sense of 'counter' or 'chip'.

enjoyed widespread acceptance by the soldiers, although not all would have been comprehensible to the general Czech-speaking public.

Military equipment was another domain in which borrowing was required to fill lexical gaps. Frequently cited weapons included 'fugas' (land mine), 'kinžál'/'kindžal' (Turkish dagger), 'nagan'/'nahoun' (Nagant revolver), 'štyk' (bayonet) and 'vintovka' (type of repeating rifle), of which 'kinžál'/'kindžal', 'štyk' and 'vintovka' remain the best known. There were even more terms relating specifically to clothing, such as 'fufajka' (winter jersey), 'furažka' (peak-cap, service cap), 'gymasťorka' (soldier's blouse), 'obmundirovka' (soldier's uniform), 'papacha'/'papácha' (tall fur cap), 'položubka' (short fur coat), 'rubaška'/'rubáška' (battle blouse) and 'válenky' (high felt boots).[73] Many of these words are still familiar through legionary literature, but only 'rubaška'/'rubáška' and 'válenky', which occur twenty-five times and thirty-seven times respectively in *ČNK*, continue to appear in the standard Czech reference dictionary, *SSČ*.

Inevitably, there were likewise a great many exoticisms based on Russian which related to the soldiers' experiences outside direct combat. These included 'ceremoniální marš' (ceremonial march), 'dňovka' (day-time rest), 'komandírovka'/'komandýrovka' (official trip), 'nary'/'náry' (plank-bed), 'puťovka' (record of daily tasks and performances), 'oboz' (transport unit), 'odprávka' (dispatching of trains), 'odzyv' (password), 'otpusk' (leave), 'propusk' (military pass), 'tepluška' (heated goods van for the transportation of human beings) and 'ťurma' (prison). Borrowings connected with food and drink constituted a significant proportion of the legionaries' more general referents; for example, 'baklaga' (flask), 'butylka' (bottle, flask), 'dovolství'/'dovolstvije' (provisions, allowance), 'furáž' (foodstuff), 'kipjatok' (boiling water), 'kofejnaja' (café), 'kotýlek' (mess-tin), 'kruška' (mug) and 'pajok' (ration). Other quite frequently cited, but now seemingly obscure terms in legionary literature included 'dolžnost' (office, position), 'košmár' (nightmare), 'lentička' (tape), 'pačka' (packet), 'palatka' (tent), 'papirosnice' (box for papirosy), 'poljana' (glade) and 'posilka' (parcel). Amongst the loanwords for non-military personnel were 'chazajin'/'chazajka' (proprietor), 'jinorodec' (foreigner [a non-Russian living in Russia and later the Soviet Union]), 'pismovoditěl' (secretary), 'pristav' (police commissioner), 'souputník'/'souputník' (compatriot) and 'tělochranitel' (bodyguard).[74] With the exception of 'souputník'/'souputník' and its

[73] The role of the legionary writers, especially Hašek, in drawing these words to the attention of the wider public is discussed by Mikoláš Zatovkaňuk, 'Haškovy rusismy v Osudech dobrého vojáka Švejka', *Naše řeč*, 64, 1981, 3, pp. 124–32 (pp. 131–32).

[74] 'Souputník', in the sense of 'fellow-traveller' became a well established Czech word under Communism, although almost a half of my informants did not feel that it had mainly socialist connotations.

derivatives and 'těpluška', which occur 256 and thirty-one times respectively in *ČNK*, these terms are all now almost unknown in Czech. Dictionary citations exemplifying some of these loanwords serve to highlight their relative obscurity. For instance, 'košmár' is illustrated in *PSJČ*, 1937–38, by Medek's remark, 'It is [. . .] as the Russians say à la français [. . .], well, a *nightmare*! A painful sight, full of horrors'.

Some of the military exoticisms that entered Czech via Russian were derived from other non-Slavonic languages. Russian borrowings taken from German included 'hauptvachta' (main police station), 'komandir'/'komandýr' (commanding officer), 'komitét' (committee), 'kvatýrmajstr' (quartermaster) and 'unteroficír' (non-commissioned officer). The French contribution comprised examples such as 'ariergard' (rearguard), 'artilerist(a)' (artilleryman), 'avangard'/'avantgarda' (avant-garde), 'delegátština' (delegation), 'ešelon' (echelon), 'intendantstvo' (quartermaster service), 'kavalérie' (cavalry), 'konvoj' (convoy) and 'parád' (parade). English lexical influence via Russian was more limited, but the term 'Austriják' (Austrian) has an English stem and, according to Milan Jelínek, the noun 'chuligán' (hooligan) was first cited in legionary literature.[75] It is interesting to note that several of these internationalisms, such as 'artilerista', 'avantgarda', 'chuligán', 'komitét' and 'konvoj', have proven more enduring than many of the other Russian loanwords.

While most of the legionaries' direct borrowings from Russian have now been generally forgotten, a not insignificant number of lexical items (uninfluenced by other languages) stuck in twentieth-century Czech. Amongst the military terms used by the soldiers that are still in common parlance are 'běženec' (escapee, deserter, refugee), 'direktiva' (directive), 'dozor' (inspection), 'eskadrona' (squadron), 'formovat (armádu, pluk)' (to form [an army, a regiment]), 'hlavní stan' (headquarters), 'komandovat' (to command), 'manévry' (manoeuvres), 'nábor' (recruitment), 'obchvat' (outflanking manoeuvre), 'okop' (= 'zákop') (trench), 'pěchota' (infantry), 'praporčík' (warrant officer) and 'praporečník' (standard bearer), 'protivník' (adversary), 'rozvědka' (espionage) and 'rozvědčík' (intelligence officer), 'staršina' (leading corporal), 'sumka' (cartridge pouch), 'týl' (the rear) and 'zemljanka' (dug-out, bunker).[76] Loan translations which became part of the

[75] Milan Jelínek, 'O slově chuligán', *Věda a život*, 3, 1958, Slovníček.

[76] The term 'pěchota' (infantry) was familiar to Jan Amos Komenský (1592–1670), but had been largely replaced by 'infanterie', until it was revived by the legionaries. See Dušan Šlosar, *Tisíciletá*, Prague, 1990 (hereafter, *Tisíciletá*), p. 78. Some of the lexical items attributed to the legionaries subsequently acquired new meanings; for example, 'staršina' (head, boss). The semantic extensions affecting the morphological Russianism 'nábor' are discussed by Šmilauer, 'Ruské vlivy na češtinu', p. 68. The nouns 'praporčík' (warrant officer) and 'praporečník' (standard bearer) provide a good illustration of the difficulty of tracing the origins of Slavonic-root words.

standard army lexicon included 'kulomet' (machine-gun) and 'kulometčík' (machine-gunner), from the Russian *pulomet* and *pulemetchik*, and 'vlčí jáma' (wolf-hole), from *volch'ia iama*.[77] The native speakers who responded to my questionnaire generally felt that they knew the origins of the Slavonic root nouns 'obchvat', 'okop' and 'zemljanka', although they regarded the latter two as old-fashioned and, strangely, 'zemljanka' was seen to have quite strong socialist associations.

Other more general lexical items attributed to the legionaries include the nouns 'deklamátor' (reciter), 'družba' (in the sense of 'friendship') and 'proletariát' (working class). The term 'družba' (in its secondary meaning) is usually associated with the Soviet liberation of Czechoslovakia in 1945 but, according to Dušan Šlosar, even in the nineteenth century some Russophiles, such as Svatopluk Čech, had used the word to mean 'friendship' and, as Jaromír Bělič has pointed out, it was not unknown in this sense in the First Republic.[78] The legionaries likewise adopted the cognate verb 'podružit' (to make friends).

Most of the Russianisms used by the legionaries either reflected or sought to express their everyday experience and practical needs, or else represented stylistically coloured responses to the world in which they found themselves. Unlike the Bolsheviks, the soldiers were not generally driven by narrowly defined ideological convictions, and are thus not closely associated with the introduction of specific political or historical concepts. Nonetheless, they themselves were, of course, the theme for much discussion. Even in the late 1930s many ordinary people still had first- or second-hand knowledge of life in the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, and could relate in personal terms to referents such as 'čeljabinský sjezd' (the Chelyabinsk Congress), 'Československý střelecký pluk' (Czechoslovak Rifle Regiment), translated from the Russian *Chekhoslovatskii strelkovyi polk*, and 'georgi(j)evský kříž'/'orden' (Cross/Order of St George). *PSJČ*, 1935–37, illustrates 'esaul' (Cossack captain) by quoting Medek's remark: 'You are now an "esaul" and you have the Cross of Saint George.'[79] More familiar still were the terms 'bitva u Bachmače' (the Battle of Bakhmach) and 'Česká družina' (Czech Company in Russia), which remain widely recognized to this day. However, none of the referents made a more significant and lasting contribution to national mythopoeia than 'bitva u Zborova' (Battle of Zborov) and its derivative 'zborovák' (participant in the Battle of Zborov) or 'sibiřská anabaze' (the Siberian Anabasis).

[77] The first automatic portable machine-gun was invented in the mid-1880s. It was adopted by the British army in 1889, and by the Russian, Austrian, German, Italian and Swiss armies in 1890. The term 'kulomet' had become fully established in Czech by the early 1920s.

[78] Dušan Šlosar, *Jazčyník*, Prague, 1985, pp. 13–14, and Bělič, 'Nové údobí ve vývoji českého jazyka', p. 141.

[79] The Cross of Saint George was the highest military honour in the Russian army.

*Soviet lexical borrowings*

The extent of Soviet influence on the Czech lexicon correlates more or less directly to the regime in power in the Czech speaking lands. It was at its greatest in the early 1950s, and has been minimal since the collapse of Communism. The examples cited below are intended as indicative only, and greater attention is paid to Russianisms per se than to the innumerable analogous lexical neologisms (terms morphologically unrelated to Russian but influenced by Soviet usage), including 'JZD' ('Jednotné zemědělské družstvo') (United Agricultural Collective), 'nestraník' (non-party member, especially non-Communist) and 'svazák' (member of the Socialist Youth Movement).

Amongst the Soviet referents known in the First Republic were several specialist terms, such as 'Goerlo' (State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, 1920–31), 'Kominterna' (Communist International, 1919–43), 'nepovské Rusko' (Russia under the New Economic Policy, 1921–28), 'Sovnarchoz' (Soviet Economic Council, 1917–32) and 'proletářská poezie' (proletarian poetry, 1920s and 1930s). Other loanwords which also gained broader international recognition included 'čistka' (purge), 'kooperativa' (co-operative) and 'pionýr' (pioneer, Young Pioneer), and well established lexical exoticisms such as 'komsomolec' (member of the Komsomol) and 'partorg' (party organizer). The lemma 'čistka' remains an important collocate of 'stalinský' (Stalinist) in *ČNK*, with a t-score of 4.122 and an MI-score of 12.59. However, more significantly, it has undergone a semantic extension in recent years, and is now frequently employed to denote 'cleansing' in a broader political sense. 'Čistka' is quoted 801 times in *ČNK*, and is easily the most important collocate of 'etnický' (ethnic), with 316 citations and t- and MI-scores of 17.78 and 14.28, respectively. Interestingly, a clear majority of my informants claimed that the word is commonly used, but all except two continued to associate it primarily with socialism.

Before 1948 only the lexicon of the Communist activists was strongly influenced by Soviet usage. Communist students in the First Republic employed the acronym 'Kostufra' ('Komunistická studentská frakce') (Communist Student Fraction), and between 1921 and 1924 the Czechoslovak Communist Party adopted the title 'Proletkult' for their own cultural organization (based on the name of the Soviet proletarian cultural organization, 1917–32). Lexical items such as 'běloručka' (a bourgeois, literally: a person with white hands), 'byró'/'byro' (organ of a political organization), 'partije' (political party), 'polbyro' (later 'politbyro') (Politburo) and 'ženodděl' (women's section of the Party organization) were likewise common currency amongst Party members

in pre-war Czechoslovakia.[80] It would appear that these and similar terms had high political prestige amongst the Party membership, and that they fulfilled both the major social purposes of language, as identified by George Thomas: i) the solidarity function, and ii) the separating function (i.e. the exclusion of non-members of the group).[81] However, a great many Czechs did not endorse the Communists' vision of a new Soviet-style society. A. Velemínský, for example, wrote in 1929 that, 'Negativistic Communism in Europe is becoming an ever more embarrassing episode in the post-war era. The sad reality is that the Czechoslovak Communist Party is not improving the attitude of our public to Russia, but rather making it worse'.[82]

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, explicit references to the Soviet system were de facto taboo, except where they highlighted the failings of Communism or denoted opposition to the Bolsheviks, as in the case of the term 'kulak'. Nevertheless, the war inevitably contributed several new lexical items connected with Russia, including 'kalašnikov' (kalashnikov), 'katuše'/'kaťuše'/'katuška' (Katush(k)a, rocket-launcher), 'lavočka' (Soviet Second World War fighter plane named after its designer, S. A. Lavochkin), 'mig' (MiG fighter plane), 'panfilovec' (member of Panfilov's division which defended Moscow in 1941), 'samochodka' (self-propelled cannon), 'samochodný' (automatic) and 'svobodovec'/'svobodovka' (officer in General Svoboda's first Independent Battalion in Russia, 1943–45).[83] Equally importantly, it increased the familiarity of other terms such as 'grupírovka' (secret grouping within an organization with clearly defined targets), 'gymnasťorka' (tunic with starched collar, part of the uniform of the Soviet soldier), 'politruk' (political instructor [in units of the Soviet armed forces]) (from the Russian *politicheskii rukovoditel'*), 'sovětíčk' (Soviet citizen, Soviet soldier) and the calque 'město hrdina' (Hero City), which was sometimes preferred to the variant exoticism 'Gorod-geroj'.[84] The term 'politruk' became fully established in the Czech lexicon after 1948, and occurs 136 times in *ČNK*, almost invariably in a Czech context, and inevitably in relation to the past. It collocates most frequently with the lemma 'bývalý' (former), with a t-score of 3.593 and an MI-score of 8.202.

It was not unusual for Communist leaders who had spent the war years in the Soviet Union to substitute Russianisms for standard Czech

[80] See Václav Křístek, 'K jazykové stránce revolučního tisku za první republiky', *Naše řeč*, 54, 1971, 3, pp. 131–41.

[81] Thomas, *Linguistic Purism*, p. 53.

[82] A. Velemínský, *Rusko včera a dnes*, Prague, 1929, p. 201.

[83] The Lavochka fighter plane was first used by the Czechoslovak air force in 1938, and was briefly produced under licence in Czechoslovakia.

[84] Four derivatives are recorded for 'proletkult' in *ČNK*: 'proletkultismus' (Proletkultism), 'proletkultovec' (Proletkultist) and 'proletkultovsky'/'proletkultovni' (Proletkult [*adjective*]).

lexical items in formal speeches for the purpose of rhetorical impact, and to draw attention to their ideological credentials. Trávníček cites several examples which he claims, without irony, bear witness to the 'popular purity' ('národní ryzost') of Gottwald's language, including 'složná otázka' (= 'složitá') (a complex question), 'popská reakce' (= 'kněžourská') (priestly), 'předělit' (= 'znova rozdělit') (to re-divide) and 'bolševická zákalka' (for 'zakalení') (Bolshevik steeling).[85] Another favourite Gottwaldism based on Russian was the use of 'rozlad' for 'rozladění' (ill humour, disharmony).

The socialist realignment of post-war Czechoslovakia, referred to in Czech as 'socializace' (socialization), reflected a common conviction that 'bourgeois' politics had led to the rise of Hitler, and that radical economic and political reform were prerequisites for greater equality. The Soviet-style politicization of Czech society was immediately recorded in the lexicon, with the increased use of terms such as 'agitka' (propaganda piece), 'aktiv' (= 'akční výbor') (political action group), 'bezpartijní' (non-Party), 'brigáda' (work brigade), 'družstevnictví' (co-operative movement), 'kinofikace' ('cinefication'), 'kolektivnost' (collectivity), 'kombinát' (industrial complex; plant), 'milicionář' (militia-man), 'mírotvůrce' (peace-maker), 'nacionalisace' (nationalization), 'platforma' (ideological platform), 'propagandismus' ('propagandism', making propaganda), 'prověrka' (vetting or screening, especially political), 'rudnout' (literally: to turn red; incline towards Communism), 'socialistické budovatelství' (socialist constructivism), 'socialistické plánovaní' (socialist planning) and 'znárodněný' (nationalized).[86] The first important policy of Gottwald's government in 1947 was to implement a Two-Year Plan, known as 'dvouletka', which was not only inspired economically by the Soviet 'pětiletka' (five-year plan) but owed its very title to the Soviet model. In the same year the Czechoslovak Communist Party joined the 'Informbyro' ('Informační byro komunistických a dělnických stran') (Cominform, 1947–56).

After the Communist coup of 1948, the Party was keen to pursue a more comprehensive policy of linguistic reform to meet Czechoslovakia's changing realities. Even the terms 'předúnorový' (pre-February [1948]) and 'poúnorový' (post-February [1948]) (reminiscent of Russian *dooktiabr´skii* [pre-October 1917] and *posleoktiabr´skii* [post-October 1917]) implied a radical departure from the erstwhile

[85] František Trávníček, 'Síla a krása Gottwadova slova', *Naše řeč*, 36, 1953, 5–6, pp. 139–47 (pp. 146–47). Trávníček further claims that Gottwald only borrowed lexical elements 'which in no way violate the Czech system of expression, and are organically incorporated into it' (p. 147).

[86] There were four nationalization decrees in October 1945, which resulted in a half of the national income originating in state-owned companies. See Victor S. Mamatey and Radomír Luža (eds), *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic*, Princeton, NJ, 1973, p. 439.

norms.[87] For the language planners, lexical innovation was initially relatively easy both because the process was already under way and because of the linguistic similarities between Czech and Russian, previously identified.[88] Language took on the important new function of promoting political objectives whilst simultaneously suppressing alternative opinions. Josef Skácel has used the term 'propagandisticko-agitační projev' (propaganda and agitational expression) to describe the ideologically motivated rhetoric which characterized Communist officialese.[89]

In January 1949 Czechoslovakia joined the 'RVHP' (= 'Rada vzájemné hospodářské pomoci') (Council for Mutual Economic Aid), and in May of the same year it held its first Congress since seizing power. The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party may have constituted an extreme example of Soviet speak, but it provides an excellent illustration of the penetration into the Czech political lexicon of loanwords and loan translations such as 'socialistické soutěžení' (Russian: *sotsialisticheskoe sorevnovanie*) (socialist competition), 'stachanovština' (work in the Stakhanovite tradition), 'třídní nepřítel' (class enemy), 'údernictví' (shock work) and 'zlepšovatel' (socialist innovator).[90] Several of the contributions from Party members contained morphological neologisms and semantic extensions based on established Soviet usage, including Gottwald's remark, 'Let our reactionary friends at home and abroad jeer at us for the fact that we are constantly doing shock work [úderničíme], competing [soutěžíme], and doing voluntary work [brigádujeme]'.[91] Throughout the Congress functionaries sought to display their loyalty to the cause through obsequious Soviet-sounding slogans. Jaroslav Čermák, for example, proclaimed, 'Glorious Ninth Congress! We, the representatives of the Brno region [. . .] greet our beloved Comrade-President Gottwald and delegates of the fraternal Communist Parties led by the All-Union (Bolshevik) Communist Party', and Josef Krutký concluded his address with the words 'Long live the All-Union (Bolshevik) Communist Party and Generalissimus Comrade Stalin'.[92] Even the term 'Bouřlivý potlesk' (Tumultuous applause), used repeatedly in parenthesis in the official transcript of the proceedings, may have been a direct translation of the Russian *Burnye aplodismenty*.

[87] Czech had used the term 'popřevratový' (post-takeover) in relation to 1918, and now uses 'polistopadový' (post-November, 1989).

[88] František Cuřín and Jiří Novotný, *Vývojové tendence současné spisovné češtiny a kultura jazyka*, Prague, 1981, p. 86, amongst others, have emphasized the way in which the proximity of the Slavonic languages facilitated the task of adopting the new terms.

[89] Josef Skácel, *Jazyk a společnost*, Ostrava, 1977, pp. 33–36.

[90] The 'údernické hnutí' (shock-work movement) lasted from 1948 to 1958.

[91] Protokol IX. řádného Sjezdu Komunistické strany Československa, Prague, 1949, p. 100.

[92] Ibid., pp. 84 and 62.

In the 1950s there was a significant increase in the use of calques based more or less directly on Russian, as in 'nadstavba' (Russian: *nadstroika*) (superstructure, from Marx's Base/Superstructure Theory), 'stranické orgány' (*partiinye organy*) (party organs), 'vnitrostranická demokracie' (*vnutropartiinaia demokratiia*) (intra-Party democracy) and 'volný obchod' (*svobodnaia torgovlia*) (free trade). Elsewhere, Czech sometimes employed calques formed from Russian stump-compounds, such as 'agitační středisko' (*agitpunkt*) (agitation and propaganda centre) and 'přední pracovník' (*peredovik*) (leading worker), or it adopted its own stump-compounds, as in the colloquial forms 'diamat' ('dialektický materialismus') (dialectical materialism) and 'nástěnka' ('nástěnné noviny') (*stengazeta*) (wall newspaper).[93] Alternatively, words acquired new meanings only in set collocations; for example, 'Mladí průkopníci' (Young Pioneers) and 'Rudí průkopníci', (Red Pioneers), 'Sbor národní bezpečnosti' (Committee of National Security) and later '(Veřejná) Bezpečnost' ('[Public] Security' — the police), and 'Státní bezpečnost' (State Security — the secret police): compare *Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti* ('Committee of Public Safety' — the KGB).

The expansion of the security forces after 1948 reflected the Party's paranoia over the perceived threat to its authority. Amongst the many terms denoting opposition to Communism were 'antikominterna' (anti-Comintern bloc), 'antisovietismus' (anti-Sovietism), 'diverzant' (enemy agent) and 'sovětofobský' ('Sovietphobic'). Other words associated with the enemies of socialism, and redefined according to Soviet perceptions, were 'oportunismus' (opportunism: anti-Marxist-Leninist direction), 'Panevropa'/'Všeevropa' ('pan-Europe': imperialist struggles against the USSR) and 'trockismus' (Trotskyism: treacherous opportunistic trend).[94] Even in the 1980s authoritative works were still interpreting 'trockismus' in terms reminiscent of the Stalinist period; for instance, *Malá československá encyklopedie* defined it as 'a petit-bourgeois ideological and political tendency in the workers' movement, hostile to Leninism, and concealing its essential opportunism through radicalistic leftist phrases and slogans'.[95]

One of the terms favoured by Gottwald to describe his opponents, 'protilidový' ('anti-people', directed against the interests of the people), was a calque derived from the Russian *antinarodnyi*. The use of 'lid' (the people) in this narrow political sense increased exponentially after 1948. Other examples included 'pracující lid' (the working people), 'lidová

[93] The exoticism 'stěngazeta' was itself not unknown amongst political activists.

[94] Lenin first attributed a negative meaning to the noun 'opportunism'. See Larissa Ryazanova-Clarke and Terence Wade, *The Russian Language Today*, London, 1999, p. 8.

[95] Bohumil Kvasil, Miroslav Štěpánek et al., *Malá československá encyklopedie*, Prague, 1984–87 (6 vols).

demokracie' (people's democracy), 'lidospráva' (people's administration), 'lidovláda' (people's government), 'obecný lid' (the common people) and 'vůle lidu' (the will of the people).[96] The terms 'dělník' (worker), 'proletariát' and 'třída' (class) were also used far more frequently, as in 'dělnictví' (working-class credentials), 'dělnický president' (workers' president), 'dělnický stát' (workers' state) and 'dělnická třída' (working class); 'diktatura proletariátu' (dictatorship of the proletariat), 'proletáři všech zemí, spojte se' (workers of the world unite), 'proletářská revoluce' (proletarian revolution) and 'proletářské uvědomění' (proletarian political awareness), and 'třídnost' (Russian: *klassovost'*) (class consciousness), 'třídní boj' (class struggle), 'třídní nenávist' (class hatred) and 'třídní uvědomění' (awareness of class).[97]

Occasionally 'indigenous' Czech nouns gave rise to semantic extensions in accordance with Soviet usage; for example, 'prostor' (open space) > 'prostor pro uplatnění iniciativy' (opportunity for carrying out an initiative) and 'předvoj' ('avantgarda') (avant-garde) > 'předvoj dělnické třídy' (vanguard of the working class; the Communist Party).[98] As Zdenek Salzmann has noted, 'In cases of semantic extension, the innovation was sociocultural rather than linguistic, as in *družba* (originally referring to the best man or matchmaker, but through Russian influence acquiring the additional sense of friendly social relations between institutions) or *úderník* (originally referring to a member of the shock troops or a storm trooper, and subsequently extended to refer primarily to a shock worker or Stakhanovite, on the basis of the Russian *udarnik*)'.[99] Other striking semantic neologisms, which were introduced directly from Russian, included 'cech' (guild > production department), 'družina' (company, troop > Pioneer team > after-school group/room), 'kádry' (military cadres > Party organization workers, political cadres) and 'kandidát' (candidate > candidate member of the Party).[100] Not all the semantic neologisms were politically motivated; for example, 'estráda' (podium) took on the meaning of 'variety show' and 'suchar' (dry biscuit) acquired the sense of 'cold detached person'

[96] See Miloš Dokulil, 'Lidovýchova, lidovláda, lidospráva', *Naše řeč*, 33, 1949, 3–4, pp. 58–62.

[97] The idea of a military-style operation implied by 'třídní boj' was also suggested by other terms such as 'boj za mír' (struggle for peace), 'brigáda', 'úderník' and 'zakalit v boji' (to steel in the fight).

[98] Even prior to Communism, František Trávníček, 'Nástroj myšlení a dorozumění', Prague, 1941, pp. 41–43, had identified various stylistic and semantic extensions affecting 'prostor'.

[99] Zdenek Salzmann, 'Foreign Influences on Czech as a Measure of Nationalism and Internationalism', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 16, 1989, 1–2, pp. 63–77 (p. 69). Note that the noun 'družba' in its original sense was masculine, whereas its imported homophone was feminine.

[100] See Bělič, 'Nové údobí ve vývoji českého jazyka', p. 141.

from its polysemous Russian homonym. Because 'suchar' had a long established tradition as a culinary term in Czech, my informants mistakenly interpreted the semantic extension as Czech, and were unaware of any Russian connotations.

The area of language most strongly influenced by Soviet reality, outside politics, was economics. Production was largely reorganized around four major types of industrial enterprise ('podnik'): 'státní' (state), 'národní' (national[ized]), 'komunální' (local authority) and 'družstevní' (collectivized).[101] Several new economic terms entered the Czech lexicon in the 1950s, including 'normohodina' (normal working hour), 'normování práce' (the regulation of work based on norms), 'prostoj'/'prostojový/ztrátový čas' (idle time [caused by an unforeseen hold-up in production]), 'plánováč' (planner), 'regulovčík' (regulator), 'šturmovština' (last-minute rushed work), 'vstřícný plán' (counter-plan) and 'zpevněné normy' (upgraded norms).[102] The word 'prostoj' has been naturalized to such an extent in Czech that only two of my informants considered it old-fashioned, and just four associated it with socialism. Some of the other neologisms introduced in this period, however, seem to have contravened the rules of Czech word formation, including 'člověkoden', 'práceden' or 'trudoden' (working day), 'člověkohodina' (man hour) (Russian: *cheloveko-chas*) and 'koněden' (a horse's day).[103] More important in terms of their contribution to the Czech lexicon were the phrases 'brigáda socialistické práce' (Socialist Work Brigade, from 1958) and 'prověrka pracovišť' (inspection of the workplace). Even nowadays young people use the terms 'brigáda' and 'prověrka', although the former refers to paid holiday work, and the latter to the classroom test. This change of meaning helps to explain the apparently anomalous situation in which thirteen of my informants thought that 'prověrka' related mainly to the socialist past, yet an even bigger majority, sixteen, did not regard it as old-fashioned.

Other well known loanwords broadly reflecting trade links with the USSR included modes of transport such as 'gazik'/'gazík' (light jeep) (*GAZ = Gosudarstvennyi avtomobil'nyi zavod*), 'iljušin' (Ilyushin plane), 'tučko'/'tupolev' (Tupolev plane) and 'žiguli'/'žigulík' (Zhiguli car).

[101] For a comprehensive introduction to changes in work structures in the early Communist period, see Václav Křístek, 'Pracovní proces a vývoj jazyka', *Naše řeč*, 35, 1951–52, 1–2, pp. 1–7.

[102] The term 'šturmovština', originally derived from the German (*Sturmung*), was an unlikely lexical borrowing since 'šturmování' (storming) already existed in Czech. The form 'normohodina' remains in use, and is supported by the emergence of analogous expressions such as 'normostránka' (standard page).

[103] See Zdeňka Sochová and Jitka Štindlová, 'K novým ekonomickým termínům typu "člověkohodina"', *Naše řeč*, 36, 1953, 7–8, pp. 207–12; Přemysl Hauser, *Nauka o slovní zásobě*, Prague, 1980, p. 46, and Miloš Dokulil, 'Nová skutečnost v zrcadle slovní zásoby češtiny', *Naše řeč*, 35, 1951–52, 7–8, pp. 121–31 (pp. 126 and 129).

Amongst the better known agricultural borrowings were 'masokombinát' (state-owned meat plant) and 'tolstolobik' (type of carp originally imported from the USSR to keep down algae etc.), and the Russian lexical exoticisms 'agrobiologie' (agro-biology), 'agrogorod' (agricultural settlement), 'kolchoz' and 'sovchoz'.[104] Numerous more technical and scientific terms either remain very obscure or have disappeared altogether from both the Russian and the Czech lexicon, including 'ilimenit' (titanic iron ore), 'jarovizace' (vernalization), 'kubonit' (hard man-made material produced in the USSR), 'sarp' (black box) (from *samopishushchaia aviatsionnaia registratsiia parametrov*), 'slavutič' (hard Soviet-produced material, used mainly for drill bits) and 'surma' (antimonic sulphide). In the area of exploration the noun 'polárník' (Polar explorer) and its derivates have become fully assimilated, and occur eighty-three times in *ČNK*. Even better established is 'kosmonaut' (cosmonaut) and its derivatives, such as 'kosmodrom' (cosmodrome, space-vehicle launching site) and 'kosmonautika' (space exploration). Interestingly, 'kosmonaut' occurs as a headword 792 times in *ČNK*, and has been naturalized alongside the headword 'astronaut', which is cited 285 times. The Latinate form, 'satelit'/'satelitní' (satellite), on the other hand, has always been preferred to 'sputník'/'sputnik'/'sputnikový', which is recorded forty-five times with a capital 'S' (denoting an artificial satellite), and just sixteen times with a small 's'.

Journalists and the military establishment had particular recourse to Russian lexical items, partly as a way of reaffirming their political engagement. Václav Křístek, for instance, noted an increasing tendency amongst sports commentators to refer to the Soviet national team as 'sbornaia' ('sbornaia komanda' or 'sborna') (representative team), and to use the verb 'podržet' in the sense of the Russian *podderzhivat'/podderzhat'* (to support, hold up) instead of 'podpírat'/'podepřít'.[105] Words relating to journalistic phenomena included the semantic extension 'bleskovka' (news flash) and the stump-compounds 'děldop' from 'dělnický dopisovatel' (worker correspondent reporting news from a factory) (calqued on the Russian *rabkor*) and 'mevro' ('Mezinárodní výstava rozhlasu') (International Wireless Exhibition; a radio variety show with audience participation). Vladimír Mejstřík cites a number of Russianisms which were in common military use, including 'rozjasňovat problémy' (from *raz'iasnyat'*) (to elucidate problems), 'rozebrat se

[104] 'Tolstolobik' was said by my informants to sound Russian, but the survival of the species in Czech waters has ensured the continued use of the word. According to Jaroslav Suk, *Několik slangových slovníků*, Prague, 1993, p. 64, in the criminal slang of 1993 'kolchoz' denoted a group of two or more prisoners (known as 'kolchozníci') who pooled their money and resources.

[105] Václav Křístek, 'Poznámky k sportovním názvům cizího původu', *Naše řeč*, 54, 1971, 2, pp. 87–93 (p. 93). Note that the legionaries had previously employed the noun 'podržka'/'poddržka' (support).

v něčem' (from *razobratsia v chem-to*) (to understand), 'podávat doklad' (for 'referát') and 'dokladovat' (to give a paper), 'letučka' (mobile detachment), 'svodka' (summary of operations) and the English-Russian hybrid 'trenýrovka' (training).[106] Other borrowings used frequently in the armed forces included 'paradesantní' (parachute), 'protivzdušný' (anti-air), 'rozborka' (dismantling [a gun]) and 'sborka' (assembling [a gun]), but only 'protivzdušný' is still widely employed.[107]

Amongst the more enduring loanwords to gain currency under Communism were the Anglicisms which came into Czech via Russian: 'dispečer', 'dispečink' (control [of traffic]), 'kombajn' (combine harvester), 'kontejner' (container) and possibly 'brojler' (broiler).[108] My informants were understandably unsure about the origins of 'brojler', and generally associated 'kombajn' with socialism, but the other terms had no Russian or Soviet connotations. There were also a number of other job descriptions which were fully integrated into the socialist lexical repertoire, such as 'felčar' (a doctor or surgeon without full medical qualifications) (from *fel'dsher*: medical assistant), 'pohraničník' (border guard) and 'požárník' (fireman), which was the official term for 'hasič' in the Communist era, and is still sometimes used today.[109] Honorary titles introduced under socialism included 'hrdina socialistické práce' (*geroi sotsialisticheskogo truda*) (hero of socialist labour), 'kandidát věd' (Candidate of Sciences) and 'národní umělec' (*narodnyi artist*) (national artist).[110] More general borrowings from Soviet times have likewise been naturalized to varying degrees; for example, 'autopark' (fleet of cars), '(dělat) obezličky' (to pass the buck; delay a

[106] Vladimír Mejstřík, 'Z knih, časopisů a novin: Jazykové sloupky v Lidové armádě', *Naše řeč*, 46, 1963, 5, pp. 263–65.

[107] The root of 'protivzdušný' (anti-air) — 'vzduch' (air) — is itself one of Josef Jungmann's nineteenth-century borrowings, which took over most of the semantic field of the older 'povětří'.

[108] According to Bernard Comrie, Gerald Stone and Maria Polinsky, *The Russian Language in the Twentieth Century*, 2nd edn, Oxford, 1996, pp. 221 and 205, the noun *dispetcher* was adopted in Russian as a result of changes in industry in the 1920s, and *kombain* and *konteiner* became established in the Russian lexicon in the early 1930s. The loanword trajectory of 'brojler' is less clear, but it certainly entered East German usage via Russian. See Martin, 'Russian Influences on the German Language', pp. 41–42.

[109] The term 'felčar', like the partial loan translation 'ranhojič', was derived from German *Feldscher* < *Feldscherer* (barber-surgeon) (first recorded in mid-sixteenth-century written German). 'Felčar' has been subject to considerable semantic broadening: at the turn of the eighteenth century it became a more general word for 'an army doctor'; under Russian influence it was used in Socialist bloc countries, including the GDR and Czechoslovakia, to denote 'a medical orderly', and more recently it has acquired the pejorative meaning of 'a quack'. The noun forms 'pohraničník' and 'požárník' are not cited in *OSN*, *MSN*, *PSJČ*, 1941–45, or even the first Communist dictionary, František Trávníček, *Slovník jayzka českého*, Prague, 1952, although the phrases 'pohraniční stráže' (border guards) and 'požární policie' (fire police) were commonly employed in the First Republic.

[110] Since 1989 many Czech academics have requested that their titles be changed from 'CSc' to 'PhDr'.

decision in the hope of making personal gain), 'instruktáž' (coaching; political teach-in), 'konspekt' (abstract), 'kontrarozvědka' (counter-espionage), 'novátor' (innovator) and 'operativní' (operational).[111] The terms 'konspekt', when known, 'kontrarozvědka' and 'pohraničník' were still generally associated with socialism, whereas perceptions of 'požárník' varied, and 'autopark', '(dělat) obezličky', 'instruktáž' and 'operativní' were not felt to relate to the Soviet period. Only two of my informants claimed to be able to identify the origins of the phrase '(dělat) obezličky', and five said that they did not know what it meant.

Considering the official importance attached to fraternal relations between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the cultural impact of Russian on Czech was surprisingly marginal. Songs in Russian, such as *Kalinka* and *Moscow Evenings*, and Soviet inspired Czech ditties, like *Kombajn kosí* (*The Combine Mows*), *Rudý prapor* (*The Red Flag*) and *Pionýrská pochodová* (*The Pioneer Marching Song*), only had a limited and short-term appeal.[112] Soviet cinema likewise generally failed to make a lasting impression. Propaganda films in Russian, such as *Cavalier of the Gold Star* (Iuri Raizman, 1950) and *Far from Moscow* (Aleksandr Stolper, 1951), merely set the tone for equally tendentious Czech films of the period, including *Cesta ke šťestí* (*Way to Happiness*, Jiří Sequens, 1951), *Únos* (*The Kidnapping*, Ján Kádar and Elmar Klos, 1952) and *Rudá záře nad Kladnem* (*Red Glow over Kladno*, Vladimír Vlček, 1955). Even the alternative Soviet films of the post-1950s, such as Tarkovskii's *Andrei Rublev* (1965), *Solaris* (1972) and *Stalker* (1979), did not receive the same critical acclaim as the Czech New Wave of the 1960s.[113]

Russian literature was perhaps more influential, thanks largely to its pre-Communist heritage, and continues to be widely sold in translation today.[114] Nonetheless, few educated readers in the socialist era could have failed to note the contrast in quality between much of the officially sanctioned Soviet fiction and the Russian classics. Socialist realism, like the other strictures of Marxism-Leninism, limited the scope for creativity and more complex use of narrative perspective. Although the propagandistic function of the arts declined after the 1950s, Soviet writers had little opportunity to question the socio-political status quo

[111] Note that 'autopark', 'instruktáž', 'konspekt', 'novátor' and 'operativní' are all of non-Slavonic origin, and that the phonological adaptation of 'autopark' (from 'avtopark') made it more akin to an Anglicism. The noun 'konspekt' was the least well known of all the terms included in my survey.

[112] See Petr Janský, *Totalita slovem, písní a obrazem (Dějiny hrůzovlády KSČ)*, Cheb, 2004.

[113] *Andrei Rublev* was first released in Czechoslovakia in 1973. Another of Tarkovskii's best films, *The Mirror*, was not distributed in Czechoslovakia until March 1990.

[114] Amongst the bookshops in Prague is one on Václavské náměstí bearing the name 'Dům knihy' (House of the Book), which may have been calqued on or influenced by the existence of the Russian *Dom knigi*.

or to engage in meaningful dialogue with their readers (except for brief periods under Khrushchev and Gorbachev).[115] Heller has argued that 'Soviet speech is always a monologue because there is no other party with which to talk. On the other side is the enemy. In the Soviet language there are no neutral words — every word carries an ideological load'.[116]

Sport left relatively little mark on the Czech lexicon, although 'fyskultura' (physical education) was occasionally used, and gymnastics contributed the term 'dorožka' (sprung floor). Other neologisms were largely confined to chess; for example, the citation exoticism 'atáka' for 'útok' (attack), also found in legionary slang, and equally obscure terms, such as 'časy' for 'hodiny' (clock), 'fers'/'ferz' (from Russian via Persian) for 'dáma' (queen), 'laďa'/'láďa'/'loďka' for 'věž' (castle, rook), 'slon' for 'střelec' (bishop), 'ničja' for 'remíza' (draw) and 'získat káčestvo' (to take a quality piece [in return for a lesser piece]).[117] Chess was one of the few cultural activities where there was significant contact between Czechs and Russians, at least at the highest levels. The Communist authorities were keen to promote chess partly, perhaps, because it was a game in which the Russians excelled, and many Czechs were keen to play it partly, perhaps, because it was an overtly non-political activity, at least at the lower levels.

Two further lexical developments which were directly attributable to the influence of Russian, and which have had a more lasting impact on the Czech lexicon, were the introduction of new adjectival compounds and of a broader range of abbreviations. In pre-Soviet times, terms such as 'hospodářsko-technický' (economic and technical), 'matematicko-fyzikální' (mathematical and physical), 'společensko-politický' (social and political) and 'vědecko-ateistický' (*adj.*) (scientific atheist), were practically unknown and, if required, would probably have occurred in forms such as 'hospodářský a technický', 'matematický a fyzikální', 'společenský a politický' and, if at all, 'vědecký a ateistický'.[118] More frequently, Czech (unlike Slovak) opted for compound phrases in which the first element followed the standard adverbial pattern; for instance, 'strojně traktorová stanice' for *mashinno-traktornaia stantsiia* (machine and tractor station), 'výrobně hospodářský'

[115] The best of the Soviet works, such as Mikhail Sholokhov's *The Quiet Don* (1928–40) and Vasilii Shukshin's *Snowball Berry Red* (1973), were characterized by an objectivity lacking from even the more highly regarded Socialist Realist novels, such as Valentin Kataev's *Time Forward!* (1932) and Nikolai Ostrovskii's *How the Steel was Tempered* (1932–34).

[116] Heller, *Cogs in the Soviet Wheel: The Formation of Soviet Man*, p. 280. See also Petr Fidelius, 'Totalitní jazyk', in *Řeč komunistické moci*, Prague, 1998, pp. 181–85.

[117] See Zdeňka Tichá and Luboš Skopec, *Tři slangové slovníky*, Prague, 2001.

[118] See Šlosar, *Tisíciletá*, p. 91.

for *proizvodstvenno-ekonomicheskii* (productive and economic) or 'ideově výchovný' for *ideino-vospitatel'nyi* (ideological and educational).[119]

The huge increase in the use of abbreviations in the Soviet period mirrored developments in revolutionary Russia, which had spawned countless examples such as *GPU* (State Political Directorate, 1922–23) and *OGPU* (United State Political Directorate, 1923–34). Amongst the better known initializations were 'ČSM' ('Československý svaz mládeže') (Czechoslovak Union of Youth), 'FMZV' ('Federální ministersvo zahraničních věcí' = 'Ministerstvo zahraničí') (Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs), 'ROH' ('Revoluční odborové hnutí') (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement), 'SSM' ('Socialistický svaz mládeže') (Socialist Union of Youth) and 'SÚP' ('Státní úřad plánovací') (State Planning Office, 1945–49) (compare *gosplan*).[120] In 1959 'SPK' ('Státní plánovací komise') (State Planning Commission) replaced 'SÚP', and in 1960 the official name of the Czechoslovak state changed to 'ČSSR' ('Československá socialistická republika') (Czechoslovak Socialist Republic). Occasionally the initializations produced declinable acronyms (in the strict English sense of the term), as in 'ÚRO' ('Ústřední rada odborů') (Central Council of Trades-Unions), 'SUPPOP' ('Státní ústav památkové péče a ochrany přírody') (State Institute for the Preservation of Monuments and the Protection of Nature) and 'VUML' ('Večerní univerzita marxismu-leninismu') (Evening University for Marxism-Leninism). Stump-compounds were introduced for a wide range of public institutions and nationalized enterprises; for example, 'Svazarm' ('Svaz pro spolupráci s armádou') (Union for Cooperation with the Army), 'Průmstav' ('Průmyslová stavba') (Industrial Construction) and 'Strojinveststav' ('Strojírenská investiční stavba') (Machine-Tool Investment Construction). Many, if not all, of these terms have now become obsolete, but the tendency to abbreviate titles remains undiminished, and has probably been reinforced through the influence of English.

There is a small group of Russianisms relating to the socialist period which frequently have pejorative connotations, including 'aparátník'/'aparátčík'/'aparátčik' (apparatchik), 'kádrovák' (personnel officer) and 'nomenklatura' (leading functionaries conforming with the dictates of the Communist Party). Věra Schmiedtová has suggested that the form

[119] See Miloš Dokulil, 'Vliv ruštiny na ostatní spisovné slovanské jazyky v sovětské epoše', *Sovětská jazykověda*, 5, 1955, 3, pp. 161–75 (p. 172); Ján Horecký, 'Postoj k cudzím slovám v slovenčine a češtine', *Slavica Pragensia*, 18, 1975, pp. 207–10 (p. 209), and Miloslava Knappová, 'Politickoekonomický, nebo politicko-ekonomický?', *Naše řeč*, 54, 1971, 3, pp. 141–56.

[120] Šlosar, *Tisíciletá*, p. 99, argues that the word 'Federal' was redundant, and he describes the superfluous inclusion of the noun 'věcí' as 'a slavish translation of the Russian *inostranných děl*'. See also Miloš Helcl, 'Zkratková slova', *Naše řeč*, 35, 1951–52, 1–2, pp. 161–70 (pp. 164–65).

'aparátnik' was preferred to 'aparátčík' under Communism, but that 'aparátčík' is now used ironically. She quotes an illustration from the recollections of Ivan Diviš cited in *ČNK*: 'He was christened a Catholic, left the church for his Communist convictions, served for a number of years as an "aparátčík" [aparátčíkoval], and was at the same time a leading chess-player, and consequently a leading "aparátčík".'[121] The lemma 'nomenklatura', which is cited 664 times, has a statistically interesting profile — fourteen of its collocates have a t-score of over 2, and 'komunistický' (Communist), 'bývalý' (former), 'starý' (old) and 'stranický' (Party) have t-scores of 7.133, 6.129, 3.656 and 3.456, respectively.[122]

Russian lemmas rarely used in official circles under Communism, but often occurring in contemporary Czech in relation to the past, include 'disident(ka)' (dissident) (1513 citations), 'gulag' (314) and 'samizdat'/'samizdatová literatura' (samizdat [literature]) (328). Amongst other more marginal terms not even cited in *ČNK* are the colloquialism 'kágebák' (member of the KGB), the compound form 'stalinsko-brežněvský' (Stalinist-Brezhnevite), the part-loan 'skoro-samizdat' (publication reminiscent of samizdat) and the derivational neologism 'tamizdat' (publication abroad). Loanwords found in the Gorbachev period included 'chozrasčot' (*khozraschet*, a form of self-financing, originally coined under Lenin, in which costs and output are balanced), 'glasnost' and 'perestrojka'/'přestavba' (perestroika), although Josef Filipec has suggested that preference was given to the Czech terms 'hospodářská reforma' (economic reform) and 'veřejná informovanost' (keeping the public informed).[123] In fact, the Communist Party bosses were largely opponents of perestroika, or 'antiperestrojčíci' (to use the short-lived neologism of the day), and were even prepared to take extraordinary measures, such as restricting access to the Soviet press, to limit the spread of 'gorbymanie' (Gorbymania). There was initially considerable scepticism in Czechoslovakia about the Soviet reform movement, as suggested by the neologism 'přeperestrojkovat se' (to change one's activities [but not one's character]), and people were taken by surprise by the speed of the subsequent developments.

*Post-Communist society*

The collapse of Communism has led to the re-adoption of a handful of old terms, and to the introduction of a small number of new terms

[121] Schmiedtová, *Čeština, jak ji neznáte: Rusismy*. The lemma 'aparátíčk'/'aparátičk' actually occurs ninety-two times in *ČNK*, whereas 'aparátník' is found sixty-six times.

[122] This number increases if the range is extended to −2 to 0.

[123] Josef Filipec, 'Naše současná společnost, slovní zásoba a slovníky', *Naše řeč*, 75, 1992, 1, pp. 1–21 (p. 5). The term 'chozrasčot' made periodic reappearances throughout the socialist era.

derived from or influenced by Russian. These fall mainly into the following broad groups: lexical items originally used in tsarist Russia; descriptors relating to the relics of the Communist past; words identifying erstwhile supporters of the system; phrases expunging the Communist legacy; miscellaneous neologisms formed through suffixation, and expressions defining recent social and political phenomena.

Several words reintroduced into Russian society have found their way back into Czech as lexical exoticisms, including 'duma', 'gospodin' (Mister) and 'gubernátor' (governor). Ironic terms depicting Communist society have also served to extend and embellish the Czech lexicon; for example, 'bolševiáda' (period of Communist rule), 'bolševik' (redefined metaphorically as Communist Party, government and state structures) and 'rudé bratrstvo' ('the red brotherhood'; the Communist Party). The phrases 'za bolševika/bolševiků' (under Bolshevik rule) and 'za soudruhů' (under the comrades), in particular, are used quite often in everyday speech with reference to the socialist period. Expressions which seek to undermine those associated with the *ancien régime* include 'neostalinista' (neo-Stalinist), 'polobobolševik' (semi-Bolshevik), 'starobolševik' (unreformed Bolshevik), 'starosoudruh' (unreformed comrade) and 'starý kádrovák' (old Party manager). Amongst the neologisms alluding to the processes of change are 'debolševizace' (de-Bolshevization), 'derusifikace' (de-Russification), 'exsovětský' (ex-Soviet), 'postsovětský' (post-Soviet), 'post-stalinismus' (post-Stalinism) and 'rozkrytí agenta' (uncovering an agent), which relates to the practice of political screening ('lustrace') after 1989. Other miscellaneous terms formed through suffixation include 'exdisident(ka)' (ex-dissident), 'pročečenský' (pro-Chechen), 'protičečenský' (anti-Chechen) and 'rebolševizace' (re-Bolshevization).

It is striking how many new expressions are derived from the term 'bolševik', and how many negative collocations there are for both 'bolševik' and its derivatives. For instance, the adjective 'bolševický' collocates seven times in *ČNK* with the lemma 'totalitarismus' (totalitarianism), five times with 'svině' (swine), four times each with 'paternalizmus' (paternalism) and 'teror' (terror) and three times with 'lagr' ([prison] camp), 'kriminál' (criminal) and 'spiknutí' (conspiracy). 'Bolševický' is a statistically significant collocate of the lemma 'totalitarismus', with a t-score of 2.645 and an MI score of 11.86. The noun 'bolševismus' is similarly defined in terms of a host of negative phenomena, such as 'demagogie' (demagogy), 'hrůzy' (the horrors), 'chyby' (the mistakes), 'krutost a bizarnost' (the cruelty and bizarreness), 'monstrum' (the monster), 'můry' (the nightmares), 'oběti' (the victims), 'strašidlo' (the spectre) and 'zločiny' (the crimes), and is sometimes explicitly linked to 'fašismus' (fascism), 'nacionálni socialismus' (National Socialism) and 'nacismus' (Nazism).

Most of the other post-Soviet lexical items currently influenced by or borrowed from Russian also have undesirable connotations, including the slang term 'davajka' (prostitute), the adjective 'novoruský' (new Russian) and the phrases 'rozkrývání mafiánských gangů' (exposing mafia gangs) and 'tržní komsomolec' ('a market komsomol member'), denoting a fanatical supporter of the principles of the market economy.[124] Amongst the more peripheral neologisms with negative associations are terms alluding to the autocratic nature of Boris El´tsin's rule and to Vladimir Putin's authoritarian tendencies, such as 'jelcinizace' (El´tsinization), 'jelcinismus'/'jelcinizmus' (El´tsinism), 'jelcinokracie' (El´tsinocracy), 'putinizace' (Putinization) and 'putinismus'/'putinizmus' (Putinism). More esoteric still is the loanword 'prichvatizace' from *prichvatizatsiia* (an illicit form of privatization affording participants unequal advantages), in which *privatizatsiia* is blended with the technical Russian noun *prichvat* (clamp). Very few neutral words identified with Russian have come into Czech since 1989, although 'ikona' (icon), in the sense of 'idol', and its derivatives 'ikonizování' ('iconization') and 'ikonizovány' ('iconized'), provide an interesting illustration of metaphorization based on English usage. Other narrow specialist terms influenced by English include 'kremlolog' (Kremlinologist), 'kremlologie' (Kremlinology), 'sovětolog' (Sovietologist) and 'sovětologie' (Sovietology) and, by extension, 'rusolog' (Russian affairs analyst).

*Conclusion*

George Thomas has argued that, among the non-Russian speech communities of the USSR and the Eastern bloc, the centralization which characterized Soviet-style étatism contributed to 'a puristic reaction to linguistic encroachment from the centre'. He further anticipated, shortly after the collapse of Communism, that 'The forces presently transforming the face of Eastern Europe are likely to unleash a movement to remove some of the more prominent traces of Russian influence from these national idioms and those of the east European satellites'.[125] His prediction of selective de-Russification has proven generally valid for both spoken and written Czech. Lexical items relating specifically to Soviet-style socialism, such as 'agitka' (propaganda piece) and 'netřídní společnost' (non-class society), are now no longer used, except in historical discourse, as evocations of post-1948 society and as expressions of irony. Yet, it would be wrong to dismiss as a mere irrelevance the Russian and Soviet contribution to Czech either before or after 1948.

[124] Note that the root of 'davajka' would be familiar to all Czechs, since it also occurs in the colloquial phrase 'davaj to sem' (give it here).
[125] Thomas, *Linguistic Purism*, p. 208.

The range and scope of Russian and Soviet influences was such that numerous terms were inevitably absorbed into the Czech word stock. Many of these lexical items, especially the older ones such as 'protivník' (adversary), retained their original sense; a significant number, including 'brigáda' (work brigade), adopted the existing Russian metaphorical meaning; a few underwent semantic extension after they had entered Czech, for instance 'čistka' (purge > [ethnic] cleansing) and 'obchvat' (outflanking manoeuvre > bypass); while a minority, like 'bolševik' (Bolshevik; left-wing dogmatist; Communist rule) and 'prověrka' (vetting; check-up; inspection; test), were subject to a more sustained process of semantic broadening. Not only did Russian leave its mark on the core vocabulary of Czech, but it also contributed to several other important lexical developments, including an increase in the use of initializations and abbreviations. The huge number of texts which were translated from Russian into Czech during the socialist era likewise appears to have had a significant, if not always easily discernible influence on the structure of the language. Alexandr Stich, amongst others, has noted that translations were instrumental in the introduction of new adjectival compounds, such as 'vědeckotechnický' (scientific and technical), and in the decline in the use of possessive adjectives derived from real names; for instance, 'otcův' (father's) and 'matčin' (mother's).[126] Even less readily identifiable and quantifiable was the impact of Soviet speak on people's perceptions of reality on a broader conceptual and pragmatic level. The subordination of language to ideology under Communism in the public domain inevitably had a profound effect on the development of semantic relations in the private sphere, although this is unfortunately beyond the remit of the current study.[127]

It is extremely difficult to measure the influence of any one language on another, and this problem is compounded in the case of Czech and Russian both by their linguistic proximity and by the complexity of relations between the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The most detailed statistical analysis of Soviet-period loanwords in Czech, published by Marie Těšitelová in 1990, focused primarily on their etymology, with the result that the Russian contribution appears to be minimal. Těšitelová identified only ten Russianisms in the most common 10,000 words (as opposed to 523 words derived directly from Latin, 288 from Greek, 171 from German, 152 from French, thirty-six from Italian,

[126] Stich, 'Existuje u nás pocit ohrožení jazyka?', p. 64.

[127] Stalin, who took an active interest in linguistics, appears to have appreciated the potential impact of language change, and deliberately understated it in order to conceal the more esoteric transformation occurring in people's everyday lives. See, for example, Françoise Thom, *The Language of Soviet Communism (La Langue de Bois)*, trans. Ken Connelly, London and Lexington, KY, 1989, pp. 111–12.

thirty from English, and twenty-nine from twelve other languages).[128] Clearly, Těšitelová's approach not only excluded numerous non-Slavonic loanwords which had entered Czech via Russian, but also a great many other borrowings where donor languages had drawn on non-indigenous sources. Furthermore, it ignored altogether the more covert forms of lexical influence, as well as innumerable widely known terms which appeared outside the top 10,000.

Data from *ČNK* and my own survey suggest that Czechs continue to have frequent recourse not only to a substantial number of pre-Soviet Russianisms, such as 'běženec' (escapee, deserter, refugee), 'kulomet' (machine-gun), 'pěchota' (infantry) and 'týl' (rear), but also to several borrowings from the Soviet period; for example, 'bezprizorný' (homeless), 'instruktáž' (coaching) and 'prostoj' (idle time at work). Even a handful of words associated primarily with socialism, including 'činovník' (official), 'diverzant' (enemy agent), 'pohraničník' (border guard) and 'požárník' (fireman), are maintaining a strong presence in the Czech lexicon. All except five of the terms cited in my survey ('konspekt' [abstract], 'normohodina' [man hour], '[dělat] obezličky' [to pass the buck], 'okop' [trench] and 'samochodný' [automatic]) have a statistically significant average reduced frequency rank in the top 50,000, as defined by the most up-to-date and authoritative frequency dictionary of Czech, *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*.[129] Moreover, six ('čistka' [purge], 'kontejner' [container], 'kontrarozvědka' [counter-espionage], 'nálet' [air-raid], 'operativní' [operational] and 'prověrka') have an average reduced frequency in the first 10,000. Other lexical items referred to in this study with an average reduced frequency in the top 10,000 include 'běženec' (escapee, deserter, refugee), 'brigáda' (work brigade) 'dozor' (inspection), 'kádr' (cadre), 'manévry' (manoeuvres) and 'rozvědka' (espionage).

Where Russian terminology has been more or less naturalized, Czech speakers appear to be largely ignorant of and indifferent to its provenance. Indeed, other Slavonic root words frequently fit in so easily to the phonological and morphological structures of Czech that

[128] Marie Těšitelová, 'O přejatých slovech v češtin z hlediska kvantitativního', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 51, 1990, 2, pp. 111–23 (p. 112). Těšitelová based her study on data from Jaroslav Jelínek, Josef Václav Bečka and Marie Těšitelová, *Frekvence slov, slovních druhů a tvarů v českém jazyce*, Prague, 1961; Marie Těšitelová et al., *Frekvenční slovník češtiny věcného stylu*, Prague, 1983, and Marie Těšitelová, Jan Petr and Jan Králík, *Retrográdní slovník současné češtiny*, Prague, 1986.

[129] František Čermák, Michal Křen et al., *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*, Prague, 2004. *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* is based on the written synchronic corpus *FSČ 2000*, which contains nearly one hundred million word forms, and comprises an important part of *ČNK*. Average reduced frequency, according to Jaroslava Hlaváčová's definition, *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*, p. 15, is a measure of 'intuitive commonness' which takes into account both the frequency of a word in the corpus and its distribution within the corpus. Note that phrases such as *stranické orgány* are not included in this dictionary.

they are accepted unquestioningly as indigenous forms. Even when Czechs are aware of the origin of a Russian word, their reactions are far from uniform or predictable. A recent nationwide survey of attitudes to lexical borrowing, conducted on my behalf, found that fewer than half of the informants — 130 (or 45.9 per cent) — did not regard Russian as a suitable donor language, while just 35 per cent (or 12.4 per cent) identified it as one of the two languages towards which they felt the greatest antipathy. Remarkably, the figure of 45.9 per cent was almost identical to that of an earlier study by Antonín Tejnor in October 1970 (see note 24). By contrast, nearly a quarter — seventy out of 283 (or 24.7 per cent) — considered Russian to be a suitable source for borrowing, while thirty-three (or 11.7 per cent) described it as one of the two languages for which they had the most positive feelings.[130] The factor which limits the use of Russianisms would thus appear to be less people's perception of the language per se than the narrowness of the semantic domains which the loanwords cover. A disproportionate number of the lexical items adopted from Russian in the twentieth century are nouns relating to military reality or to phenomena concerned with work practices, which are rarely used in private discourse. Unlike English, Russian has contributed very few new terms to Czech which define everyday objects and processes or more enduring cultural and technological innovations.

[130] The survey, 'Perceptions of lexical borrowing in contemporary Czech', was funded by a Small Research Grant from the British Academy, and conducted by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology (CVVM). Trained interviewers questioned a cross-section of 283 informants, aged fifteen and over, between 31 October and 7 November 2005. Note that Tejnor's study referred to 'Russian and other Slavonic languages', whereas mine differentiated between Russian and the other Slavonic languages.

*Appendix*

*Perceptions of lexical items influenced by Russian*
(Research conducted in October 2004)

| Term | Do you ever use or hear this term? | | Do you know what it means? | | Does it relate mainly to socialism?* | | Do you consider it to be old-fashioned?* | | Would you recognize its origins?* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Autopark | 15 | 6 | 21 | 0 | 5 | 16 | 3 | 18 | 18 | 3 |
| Bezprizorný | 16 | 5 | 20 | 1 | 4 | 17 | 6 | 15 | 7 | 14 |
| Brojler | 20 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 20 | 3 | 18 |
| Činovník | 13 | 8 | 20 | 1 | 14 | 6 | 14 | 6 | 14 | 6 |
| Čistka | 17 | 4 | 21 | 0 | 19 | 2 | 12 | 9 | 18 | 3 |
| Diverzant | 9 | 12 | 20 | 1 | 19 | 2 | 14 | 7 | 13 | 9 |
| Dispečer | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 0 | 21 | 9 | 12 |
| Instruktáž | 20 | 1 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 2 | 19 | 16 | 5 |
| Kombajn | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 4 | 17 | 5 | 16 | 14 | 7 |
| Konspekt | 7 | 14 | 10 | 11 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 11 | 6 | 11 |
| Kontejner | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 21 | 9 | 12 |
| Kontrarozvědka | 16 | 5 | 21 | 0 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 11 | 14 | 7 |
| Nálet | 20 | 1 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 21 | 16 | 5 |
| Normohodina | 15 | 6 | 19 | 2 | 3 | 17 | 2 | 18 | 14 | 6 |
| (dělat) Obezličky | 10 | 11 | 16 | 5 | 3 | 16 | 11 | 8 | 2 | 17 |
| Obchvat | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 21 | 14 | 7 |
| Okop | 9 | 12 | 21 | 0 | 6 | 15 | 11 | 10 | 16 | 5 |
| Operativní | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 1 | 20 | 0 | 21 | 14 | 7 |
| Pohraničník | 14 | 7 | 21 | 0 | 18 | 3 | 14 | 7 | 16 | 5 |

| Term | Do you ever use or hear this term? | | Do you know what it means? | | Does it relate mainly to socialism?* | | Do you consider it to be old-fashioned?* | | Would you recognize its origins?* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| Požárník | 15 | 6 | 21 | 0 | 12 | 9 | 13 | 8 | 16 | 5 |
| Prostoj | 16 | 5 | 21 | 0 | 4 | 17 | 2 | 19 | 17 | 4 |
| Protivzdušný | 19 | 2 | 21 | 0 | 4 | 17 | 3 | 18 | 15 | 6 |
| Prověrka | 17 | 4 | 21 | 0 | 13 | 8 | 5 | 16 | 16 | 5 |
| Samochodný | 16 | 5 | 20 | 1 | 11 | 10 | 14 | 7 | 17 | 4 |
| Souputník | 19 | 11 | 19 | 2 | 11 | 9 | 13 | 6 | 12 | 9 |
| Stranické orgány | 13 | 8 | 21 | 0 | 18 | 3 | 10 | 11 | 16 | 5 |
| Suchar | 20 | 1 | 21 | 0 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 21 | 13 | 8 |
| Tolstolobik | 16 | 5 | 18 | 3 | 1 | 18 | 2 | 17 | 8 | 11 |
| Vědecko-výzkumný | 21 | 0 | 21 | 0 | 2 | 19 | 1 | 20 | 17 | 4 |
| Zemljanka | 8 | 13 | 21 | 0 | 14 | 7 | 14 | 7 | 14 | 7 |

* Where numbers fail to add up to 21, informants either did not know or did not reply.

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# THE LEGACY AND LIMITATIONS OF CZECH PURISM

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*In this article, diachronic and synchronic methods of investigation are combined to evaluate perceptions of lexical borrowing in Czech. The introduction contextualizes the role of purism in the emergence of Czech national consciousness, and highlights the importance of the new linguistic currents in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The main part of the study presents the findings of a detailed survey into attitudes to loanwords and language change, conducted in 2005 on the author's behalf. Wherever possible, the author draws on the methodology and examples of three previous research projects, by Antonín Tejnor (1970), Jiří Kraus (1995) and Silke Gester (2000), in order to maximize the statistical basis for his comparative analysis. The second part of the study considers a list of 540 foreign words, defined as superfluous by František Bartoš and Petr Zenkl in two well known early twentieth-century Czech language manuals. The lexicon compiled from these publications is correlated with data from the latest, authoritative corpus-based frequency dictionary of Czech, Frekvenční slovník češtiny. Although there is some evidence of residual puristic sentiments amongst Czech speakers, the results of part 2 of the study suggest that the prescriptive approach of Bartoš and Zenkl has had little (if any) practical impact on current usage.*

## *Introduction*

Many, perhaps most, larger speech communities have at some stage embraced the notion of linguistic norms based on a semi-mythical, 'pure' form of language, uncontaminated by foreign influences. The appeal of puristic sentiments is closely correlated to people's perceptions of the role of language in the cultural and intellectual development of their society. Where language is seen as the main determinant of national identity, particularly in a struggle for independence, the importance of purism is further accentuated. The individuals and august bodies responsible for ridding a language of its undesirable elements typically draw on a loosely defined 'Golden Age' to justify their prescriptive interpretations and proposals. Such was the case with Czech during the National Revival, especially in the nineteenth century. As has been well documented, the Czechs made strenuous efforts to replace German loanwords and calques (or other borrowings which had entered Czech via German) with lexemes derived from indigenous and other Slavonic sources.[1]

Czech purism can be traced back at least as far as the mid-seventeenth century, to the publication of the seminal work by Jiří Konstanc (1607–1673), *Lima linguae Bohemicae* (*Brus jazyka českého*), and to the theoretical and practical contributions on word formation by



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Václav Rosa (c. 1620–1689), especially his study *čechořečnost seu grammatica linguae bohemicae*.[2] Amongst the best known successors to Konstanc and Rosa was the Baroque purist Jan Václav Pohl (1720–1790), teacher of Czech to the future emperor Joseph II, who is perhaps unjustly remembered more for his fanciful neologisms, such as *pamětinař* (historian) and *učna* (school), than for his lexical legacy, including *výjimka* (exception). Subsequent philological debate was dominated by Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), who rejected as ill-conceived both Rosa's rules for word-building and the methods and motivations of Pohl. As George Thomas has pointed out, Dobrovský was a classicist instictively opposed to both lexical enrichment and purism, but committed to finding a more scholarly basis for essential word formation than the prevailing slavish imitation of foreign terms.[3] Dobrovský's teachings had a profound influence on the following generation of philologists, such as Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), who shared his forebears' puristic zeal, but generally sought to ensure that his own innovations had a more sound academic and linguistic basis. This scholarly tradition was continued by Jan Gebauer (1838–1907), whose work focused primarily on historical linguistics. Although Gebauer's sympathies may have lain with the old puristic school, he was a pragmatist, whose grammars and spelling manuals contributed significantly to the standardization of the orthography both of native and foreign words.[4]

Puristic tendencies persisted with varying degrees of intensity from the early nineteenth century until the intervention of the Prague Linguistic Circle in the nineteen-twenties and thirties, and were briefly revived after the Second World War.[5] Amongst the more radical purists or *brusiči* (grinders) were Martin Hattala (1821–1903), Jan Javůrek (1825–1912), František Bartoš (1837–1906), Bohdan Jedlička (1838–1923), František Bílý (1854–1920), Petr Zenkl (1884–1975) and Jiří Haller (1896–1971).[6] Fiction also embraced purism, as evidenced, for example, in the novel by Vlasta Pittnerová (1858–1926), *Maloměstští vlastenci* (1920), in which the patriots of the title pay voluntary fines for using German and other foreign terms (as if putting money into a swear box).[7] While most of the purists from about the 1880s to the 1920s may have been more amenable to the use of loanwords than Pittnerová's character Měřinský, they often implicitly associated lexical borrowing with the mental and spiritual impoverishment of the Czech people.[8] The accumulative effect of their *a priori* conceptions was to impose certain constraints on self-expression and to render limited aspects of the literary language archaic. However, after 1918, the practical need to oppose foreign influences rapidly diminshed. As Roman Jakobson pointed out in his invective against Jiří Haller, editor of *Naše řeč*, in 1932: 'The slogan "Struggle against Germanisms" had a completely different meaning under Austro-Hungary than it does today. At that time the Czech intelligentsia and the whole nation were threatened by gradual Germanization. The spectre of Germanization is gone. Many former Germanisms long ago lost their tinge of foreignness for a language sub-consciousness unencumbered by bilingualism.'[9]

In this article, the aim is to evaluate more recent attitudes to lexical borrowing and to assess the extent to which purism has left its mark on today's language. The first part of the article draws on four sets of empirical data: (1) a nationwide opinion poll conducted by Antonín Tejnor in October 1970 for the Institute for Public Opinion Research (ÚVVM) of the Czech Academy of Sciences, (2) a questionnaire on perceptions of the current state of Czech by Jiří Kraus in 1995, (3) a study of Anglicisms, undertaken by Silke Gester in 2000, and primarily (4) a survey by the current author in 2005 as part of a comprehensive research project supported by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology (CVVM), the successor body to the ÚVVM.[10] Each study has its strengths and weaknesses. Tejnor's

questionnaire drew on a large number of informants (635) and had an impressively broad remit, but he was subject to certain political constraints, and his findings are now inevitably dated. Kraus asked just eight questions, all relating to the same theme, and only referred in detail to the age variable, but he had access to a huge body of informants (1078). Gester limited herself to ten questions, all on recent Anglicisms, and elicited responses from 194 informants in Zlín and Prague. My survey posed the largest number of questions (47), including a majority which invited direct comparison with Tejnor's study, and it also considered the widest range of variables (age, sex, location, education, employment and exposure to and knowledge of foreign languages), but it was based on a small sample of thirty informants. While it was recognized that in purely quantitative terms the size of the sample might give rise to statistical anomalies, in qualitative terms there were considerable advantages to limiting the number of informants. In particular, the use of a single Czech interviewer with an established network of contacts helped to ensure a consistent approach and enabled a degree of dialogue, which shed further light on some of the more commonly held opinions and misconceptions.[11]

The findings of the surveys taken as a whole suggest that, while attitudes to loanwords are becoming more liberal, there remains a significant discrepancy between speakers' idealized view of their language and the reality of what they find acceptable. Most Czechs believe that foreign terms are sometimes over-used, and claim to experience difficulty with understanding lexical borrowing in certain contexts (particularly in specialist areas). Irrespective of their attitude to and comprehension of foreign words, they also share a strong conviction that the standards of both spoken and written Czech are deteriorating. People feel a not altogether rational nostalgia for an era in which language use was somehow 'better'; that is to say, untainted by modish terminology, unnecessary jargon and innumerable other impurities. As Alena Polívková puts it, 'Even though it is stated in the famous basic Theses of the Prague Linguistic Circle from 1929 that "every exalted form of purism, be it logical, historicizing or folklorizing, harms the real written language", we still cannot overcome the enduring puristic attitudes of language users'.[12]

The second part of the article considers a list of 540 borrowed word forms, defined as superfluous by František Bartoš and Petr Zenkl (later Lord Mayor of Prague and a leading politician), in two well known Czech language manuals.[13] (See Appendix.) The lexicon compiled from the revised editions of both publications is correlated with data from the latest, authoritative corpus-based frequency dictionary of Czech, *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*.[14] It is impossible to quantify how much direct impact Bartoš and Zenkl and other purists may have had on the development of the language, but the evidence would suggest that their influence was less significant than they might have hoped. Vilém Mathesius wrote in 1947: 'The puristic tendencies did not disappear, but they failed to achieve the expression which would draw them to the attention of a wider public, and even *Rukověť správné češtiny* [Handbook of Correct Czech] by the renowned Moravian philologist František Bartoš, which first appeared in 1891, was only of marginal importance.'[15] At most, it seems that Bartoš and others may have contributed to a climate in which change was relatively measured and was accompanied by a degree of metalinguistic self-reflection. About three-quarters of the examples deemed inappropriate by Bartoš and Zenkl have an average reduced frequency rank in the top 50,000, as defined by *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*, and may thus be considered to be in common use.[16] Moreover, some of the borrowed terms are significantly more prevalent than their indigenous counterparts (in the small number of cases where monosemous doublets can be clearly identified).

*Part one — empirical data*

According to my small-scale survey, a majority of native speakers with a firm view on lexical borrowing have enduring misgivings about the number of foreign words in Czech. Overall, twelve (or 40%) said that there are too many loanwords, while nine (or 30%) disagreed, and the same percentage was undecided. In Gester's larger sample, 47% felt that there was a surfeit of Anglicisms (including, surprisingly, over 50% in the age range fifteen to twenty), while 43% were fully reconciled to the current state of affairs. However, only 28% of Gester's interviewees stated that, irrespective of context, they were positively in favour of the use of Anglicisms. If Gester's and my findings are an accurate indication of current attitudes, the gap between those concerned and unconcerned about borrowing has narrowed significantly since Tejnor's study, in which the figures were 64 and 29%, respectively. Interestingly, in my survey a majority of the least educated informants did not think that Czech borrows too much from other languages, whereas over half of the graduates took the opposite view. Of the ten informants with an active knowledge of English, four were of the opinion that there are too many loanwords in Czech. A broadly similar ratio applied to those who claimed an active knowledge of Slovak — six out of thirteen.

Despite speakers' continued reservations about lexical borrowing, two-thirds of my informants considered that foreign words enrich the language rather than harm it. This is in contrast both to Tejnor's survey, in which 46% of those questioned considered borrowing to be detrimental and 37% enriching, and to Gester's study, in which 27.3% considered it a negative influence and 24.7% positive.[17] However, if generational factors are borne in mind, an altogether different picture emerges. Half of the oldest age group in my study (that is, people of nineteen or twenty and over at the time of Tejnor's survey) regarded borrowing as harmful, whereas all the youngest age group saw it as enriching. This may in part reflect the fact that the younger informants are most directly affected by innovation, but it appears to be more the product of age-grading. The older a person, the greater the likelihood that he or she will view lexical borrowing negatively. Amongst Tejnor's informants aged between nineteen and twenty-four in 1970, 47% considered borrowing to be enriching, whereas 39% felt that it had an adverse effect on the language. The figures for the twenty-five to thirty-nine age group were 43% versus 40%, and in the forty to fifty-four age range, 36% versus 50%. In the fifty-five plus category, only 24% viewed borrowing favourably, whilst 61% believed it to be harmful.[18] These findings suggest that the differences between similar age groups in any given survey may be significantly less revealing than the differences that can be observed by adopting a diachronic approach based on more than one study.

Nearly three-quarters (73.33%) of my informants maintained that naturalized loanwords, such as *centrum města* (town centre) for *střed města*, *WC / toaleta* (toilet) for *záchod* and *suvenýr* (souvenir) for *upomínkový předmět*, can enhance international understanding, whereas opinion amongst Tejnor's interviewees was evenly divided. My informants even accepted the functional necessity of certain unassimilated but frequently occurring internationalisms, including *change* (bureau de change) for *směnárna*, even though such terms do not form part of their active vocabulary. A majority of over two to one of those questioned, including all except one of the youngest age group, also asserted that foreign terminology can make life easier, as evidenced by expressions such as *goodwill* for *dobré jméno firmy*, *light* for *snížený obsah tuků/cukrů* (reduced fat/sugar content), *ofsajd* (offside) for *postavení mimo hru*, *on-line* for *připojený k síti*, *time/tajm* (time-out) for *přerušení hracího času*, and *víkend* (weekend) for *sobota a neděle*.

Of all those questioned in my study, nine (or 30%) maintained that they rarely or never/almost never use loanwords, but none of these was in the youngest age group. Czechs of all ages and social classes and of both genders continue to be more concerned by the over-use of foreign terms than by their prevalence in the lexicon. In both my survey and Tejnor's study more than 80% of the informants expressed the view that Czechs sometimes or often use too many loanwords. (Gester did not specifically address this issue.) It would seem likely that the use of calques or loan translations, such as *časovač* (electronic timer), *myš (počítačová)* (*computer* mouse), *tráva* (grass, marijuana), *vypalovačka* (*CD or DVD* burner) and *zabukovat (letenku, pokoj)* (to book *a flight ticket, room*), may also contribute to this perception, but their influence cannot be easily proven. Linguists have tended to overlook the role of more recent calques, not least because they are numerically less significant than they were in the past.

Perhaps the most striking statistic to emerge from my study is that not a single informant stated a general preference for loanwords in cases where semantic equivalents exist for well established Czech terms, as with *chipsy — brambůrky* (crisps), *byznysmen — obchodník* (businessman), *tým — mužstvo* (team), *aircondition — klimatizace* (air conditioning) etc. Similarly revealing was the fact that none of those questioned consistently opted for international words where Czech alternatives represent the norm at basic and secondary school level; for example *hliník* (aluminium), *podstatné jméno* (noun), *zánět* (inflammation), *pátý pád* (vocative) versus *aluminium, substantivum, katar* (catarrh), *vokativ*. (The situation is somewhat different in higher education, where preference is frequently given to the more academic sounding Latinate terms, including *substantivum* and *vokativ*.) Tejnor likewise found very few informants — just 13% — consistently opting for the international variant in normal communication. In my study preference appeared to be given to the foreign term only in cases where the Czech word is deemed old-fashioned, as in the doublets *kopaná — fotbal* (football) and *košíková — basket(bal)* (basketball) and *vědecko-fantastický — sci-fi*. Opinions on *vteřina — sekunda* (second) were almost evenly split, and the use of *dějiny — historie* (history) was generally felt to be context dependent. The full list of doublets was: a. *kopaná — fotbal*, b. *košíková — basket(bal)*, c. *kulturistika — bodybuilding*, d. *vědecko-fantastický — sci-fi*, e. *vteřina — sekunda*, f. *výlučně — exklusivně* (exclusively), g. *jazykověda — lingvistika* (linguistics), h. *dějiny — historie*, i. *počítač*

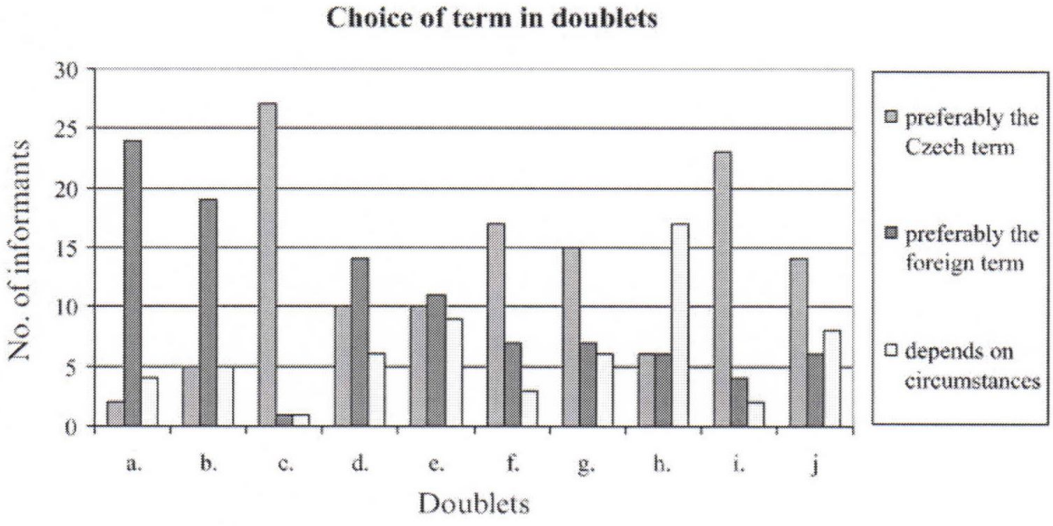



FIGURE 1

— *computer* and j. *večírek* — *party*. (In the interest of clarity, the responses of those who claimed to give the matter no thought are excluded here.)

My study also presented the informants with a list of ten semantically disparate loanwords (of which the first four were identified by Tejnor as being widely understood) and asked them to state in each case whether they thought it desirable to find Czech alternatives. The results were very evenly divided, although all six of the oldest informants felt that *diskont* (discount) should be replaced by an indigenous term and all five of the youngest believed that there was no need to find substitutes for *pasažér* (passenger), *monitorovat* (to monitor) and *lukrativní* (lucrative). To some extent the replies reflected the degree to which a lexical item has been naturalized or has achieved international recognition. Most Czechs would probably not even consider words such as *gigantický* (gigantic) and *pasažér* to be foreign (despite the 'g' sound in *gigantický*), any more than English speakers would regard *gigantic* and *passenger* as lexical borrowings. (In order to make direct comparison easier, the graph below excludes 'don't knows' and other miscellaneous replies.)

A large majority of my informants, twenty-five out of thirty, stated that they felt the need to improve their understanding of foreign words, but nine (including six of the aforementioned twenty-five) said that they never look up unfamiliar terms in a dictionary. The source of lexical information most frequently consulted is the printed dictionary of foreign words, followed by the internet dictionary or dictionary on CD-Rom and the printed bilingual dictionary (for example, English to Czech). Gester found that 86.6% of her informants either often or sometimes encounter an English word which they do not understand, and over half (51%) have first recourse to a foreign dictionary, but she did not include the other options presented in my survey. Most of my informants claimed to experience greatest difficulty with loanwords in specialized areas of study and when dealing with bureaucracy and business organizations (*úřady a podniky*). Unfortunately, direct comparison with Tejnor is again not possible here, since neither of the first two areas listed below is mentioned in his survey, and the scope of the categories is substantially broader in my study. Nevertheless, no matter how the data are interpreted, it would seem that there has been a sharp decline, from Tejnor's figure of 51%, in the proportion of Czechs for whom lexical borrowing in the media poses the most serious problems.

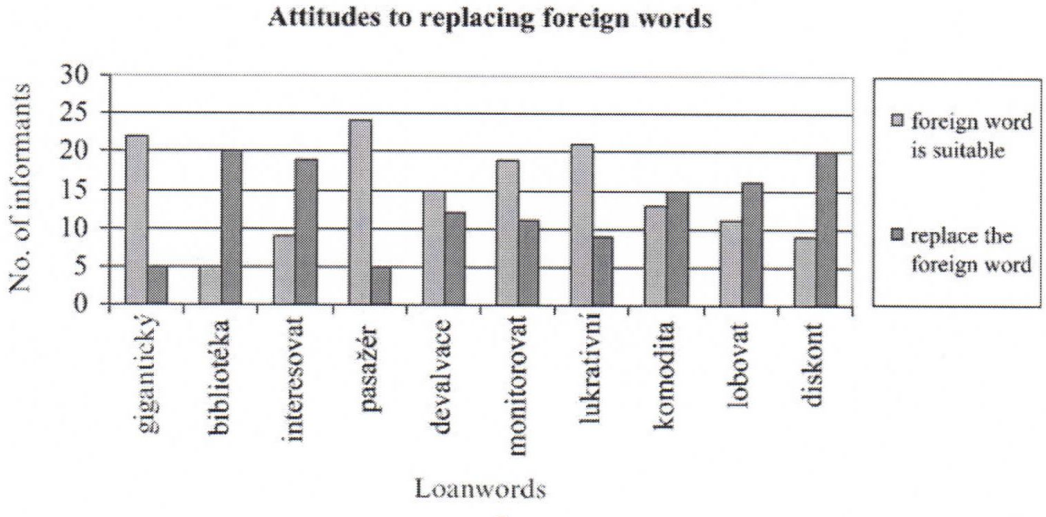



FIGURE 2

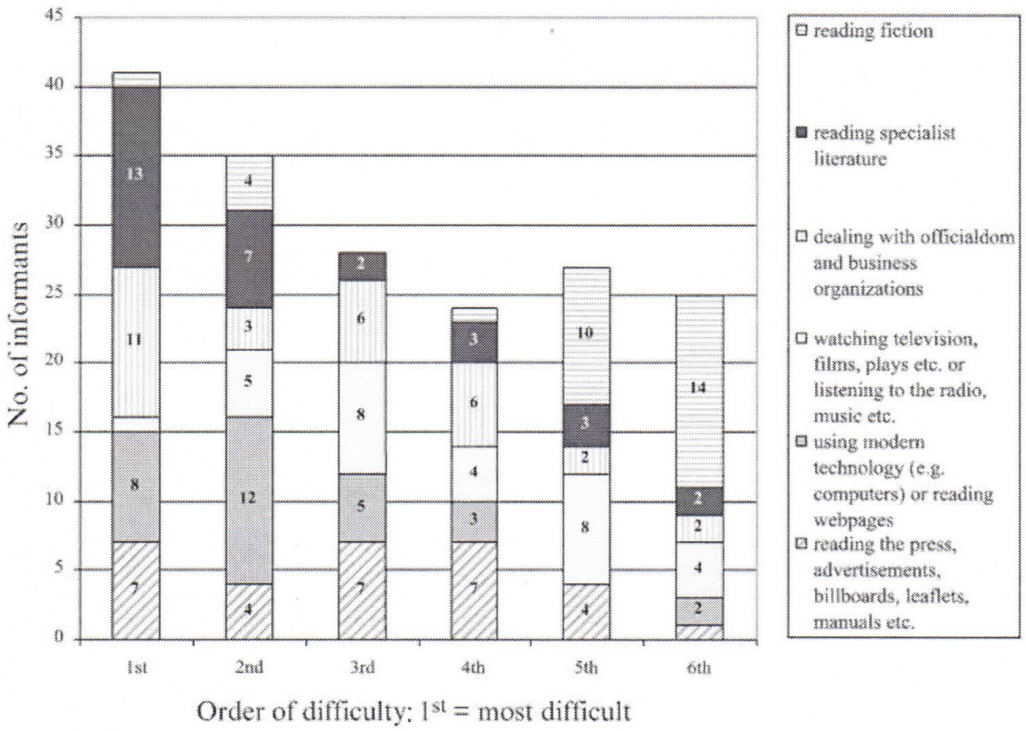



FIGURE 3 Areas of difficulty (in declining order).

In order to evaluate attitudes to specific words in the media, my informants were asked to assess the legitimacy of eight borrowed lexical items, which had been deemed inappropriate by Tejnor's interviewees. Each of the terms was regarded as considerably more acceptable in my study than in Tejnor's survey and, with the exception of the noun *eskalace* (escalation),

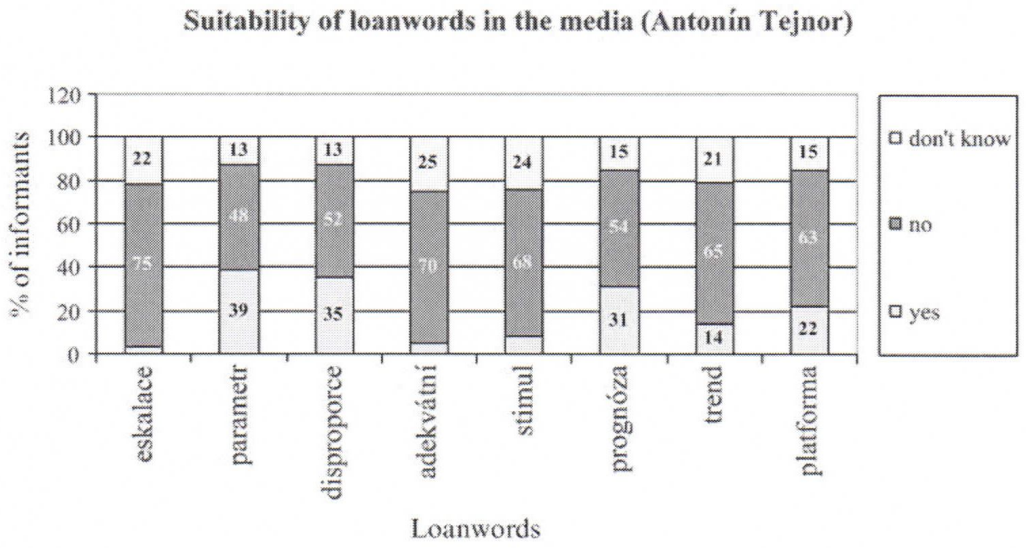



FIGURE 4

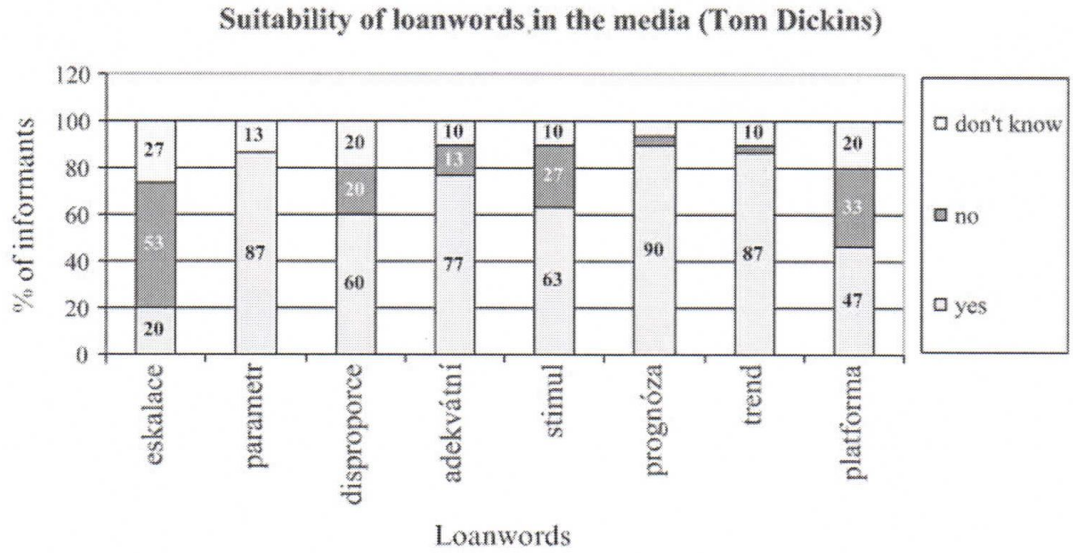



FIGURE 5

they were all seen as more suitable than unsuitable. However, over a quarter of my informants from all age groups continued to question the acceptability of *platforma* (platform) and *stimul* (stimulus). (For ease of comparison, the responses are all presented in percentage terms.)

My study also repeated another of Tejnor's questions, in which he asked his informants to assess the relative comprehensibility of twenty loanwords to other Czechs. My interviewees were asked to evaluate the nine which were not generally understood by more than 50% of his informants, *postulát* (postulate), *rekriminace* (recrimination), *koordinace* (coordination), *aplikace* (application), *verifikace* (verification), *principiálnost* (adherence to principles), *latentní* (latent), *teze* (thesis) and *vertikální* (vertical). All except *postulát*, *rekriminace*, *verifikace* and *latentni* were regarded as readily comprehensible by over half of my sample. While in purely scientific terms it may seem of little value to ask people to try to second-guess their compatriots' comprehension skills, this question serves a useful purpose in highlighting people's perceptions of the difficulties posed by loanwords. The evidence from my research would suggest that, if anything, Czechs tend to underestimate their familiarity with foreign borrowings. Even when asked specifically about terms derived from languages other than English, which in theory may have posed more problems than Anglicisms, especially to the younger generation, the majority seemed to be very well informed. Of sixteen loanwords in this category, all except three — *jakuza* (jacuzzi), *resentiment* (resentment) and *imbiss* (snack) — were generally recognized. Moreover, nine of the lexical items were known to twenty-five or more of those questioned. The full list was: a. *apartmá(n)* (apartment, flat), b. *obezličky* (buck-passing), c. *jakuza*, d. *croissant*, e. *vizážista* (visagist[e]), f. *bungalov* (bungalow), g. *resentiment*, h. *gastarbeitr* (Gastarbeiter), i. *konspekt* (abstract, synopsis), j. *angažmá* (engagement), k. *(pom)frity* (chips), l. *zimmer frei* (vacancies), m. *paparazzo*, n. *pendler* (Czech worker who commutes daily to Germany or Austria), o. *graffiti* and p. *imbiss*.

More impressive still was the breadth of knowledge demonstrated by my informants of all ages about sporting and computer terms. Most claimed to be familiar with all the sporting vocabulary in my list (including the non-Anglicisms): *stoper* (central defender), *jogging*, *kouč*

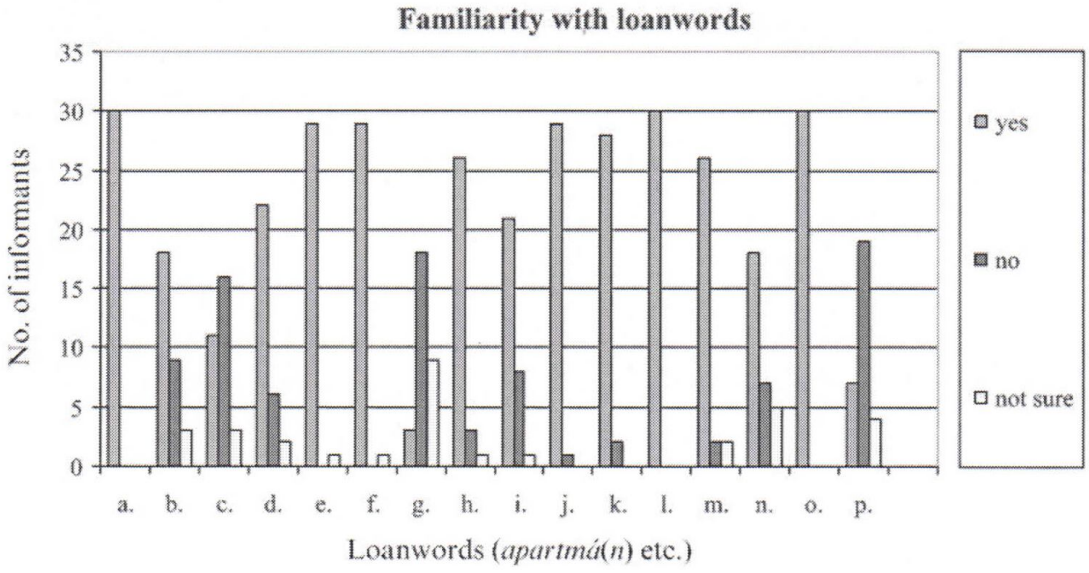



FIGURE 6

(coach), *baráž* (play-off), *biker* (mountain biker), *(bungee) jumping, crosscountry, hattrick, špílmacher* (playmaker), *libero* (sweeper), *play-off* and *taekwondo*. There was not a huge difference between the two sexes, although 50% or more of the women either did not know or were unsure about the meaning of the terms *stoper, baráž, špílmacher* and *libero*, which are mostly used in football. A large majority of my informants likewise claimed to have come across the computer words *software, desktop, internetový portal* (Internet portal), *excelovský graf* (Excel graph), *textový editor* (text editor), *surfovat* (to surf [the Net]), *chatovat* (to chat online) and *upgrade*, while half recognized *slajdšou* (slide-show) and *hyperlinka* (hyperlink). The youngest interviewees were, of course, the best informed in this area, although the oldest informants also showed a surprising level of awareness of new technology. Even allowing for statistical inaccuracies and other anomalies relating to the wording of the questions and my choice of examples, it is clear that most Czechs have assimilated a very considerable number of foreign neologisms in the post-Communist era.

There seems to be little appetite nowadays to seek alternatives for loanwords which are well established in the Czech lexicon. Only five (or 16.67%) of my informants thought that as a general principle Czechs should look for their own lexical equivalents, while sixteen (53.33%) regarded borrowing as indispensable. Of these five, none was in the youngest age group and just two claimed an active knowledge of any foreign language (in one case Slovak). My global figures compare with 33 and 48% in Tejnor's study, and would appear to indicate an increasingly pragmatic approach to language use. In the case of more recent innovations, such as *au pair, internet, second hand, snowboarding* and *sponzorovat* (to sponsor), six (20%) of my informants advocated replacing them with Czech terms.[19] When asked to find equivalents for miscellaneous loanwords from English, they coped well with *bodyguard, power-play, cash, finišovat* (to finish), *houmles* (homeless), *homepage* and *bil(l)board*, but had greater difficulty with *babysitter(ka), talk show / to(l)kšou, airbag, brífink* (briefing), *squatter* and *leasing*.[20] One term, *rowdy* (hooligan), presented problems not because Czech lacks a suitable counterpart, but because, as in Gester's study, the interviewees frequently did not understand it.

Greatest responsibility for the increase in lexical borrowing was attributed by my informants to the media, followed by globalization, advertizers and American culture. When it came to analyzing specific domains of language use, only in the sphere of advertizing were significant objections raised to foreign language influences. Of Gester's interviewees who felt that there are too many Anglicisms in Czech, the largest number (27%) again blamed advertizing for the current situation. A small majority of my informants (50 versus 43.33%) said that they did not object to loanwords in general conversation on non-specialist themes, and a greater percentage found them acceptable in relation to the economy, the world of work, popular culture, recreational activities and beauty and healthcare. The use of English terminology in computing and technology predictably had the highest acceptance rate — twenty-seven out of thirty. By contrast, Tejnor's survey showed 64% of people to be opposed to loanwords in ordinary conversation, and 47% against borrowing in both the economic sphere and political and public life. The reimposition of Soviet-sounding rhetoric following the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 may to some extent account for the high figures in the latter two areas, but it does not explain the number of people opposed to foreign terms in everyday speech. The domains identified were: a. everyday conversations on non-specialist subjects, b. political and public life, c. the economy and business, d. other fields of work, e. advertizing, f. computers and technology, g. popular culture (music, cinema, television etc.), h. sport, hobbies and travel and i. beauty and healthcare.

It would seem that the continued moderate resistance to lexical borrowing in normal conversation may in part reflect the fact that it impinges on the integrity and the intimacy of the vernacular, be that *obecná čeština* or other regional and more localized dialects. Puristic tendencies may thus be exerting themselves at both ends of the language spectrum. On the one hand, some Czechs appear to be keen to maintain the distinctness of the colloquial idiom, with which they grew up as children and with which they closely associate their geographical and cultural identity. (Ironically, words of German origin, from an era when most educated Czechs were bilingual, constitute a large and integral part of this spoken repertoire.) On the other hand, they frequently subscribe to the prescriptivist view that the spoken norms are sub-standard and of limited validity, in that they eschew the phonological, morphological

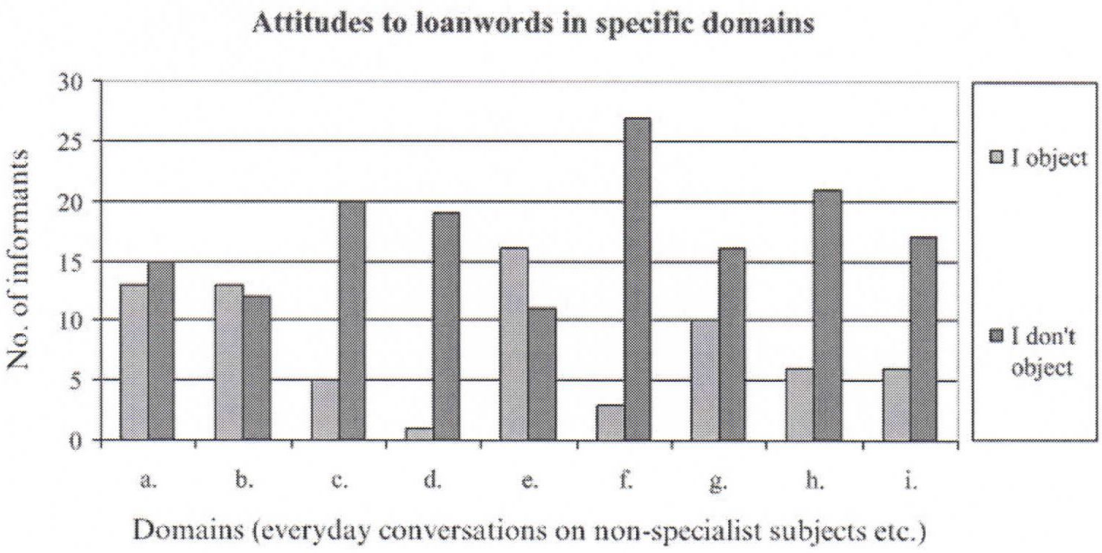



FIGURE 7

and syntactic rules of literary Czech (*spisovná čeština*). The supremacy of *spisovná čeština* is testimony not only to the relative conservatism of the linguistic establishment, but also (and perhaps more importantly) to the desire of ordinary Czech speakers to uphold language tradition.

Tejnor asked his informants to identify specific contexts in which ten frequently occurring colloquial loanwords could be used. More than a third of those questioned claimed that seven of the terms — *furt* (always), *kramflek* (heel), *fajn* (fine), *marodit* (to be unwell), *šmakovat* (to taste good), *normálka* (business as usual) and *akorát* (exactly) — were inappropriate in all contexts (including the spoken language), while over a half felt that three of the terms (*furt, kramflek* and *šmakovat*) had no place in the Czech lexicon. In my study, there were still some speakers who believed that the words *furt, kramflek, marodit, šmakovat, normálka* and *akorát* should not exist at all, although the numbers were relatively small in each case. Once again *furt, kramflek* and *šmakovat*, were deemed the least acceptable of the terms listed. The adverb *furt* was opposed by eight speakers (26.67%), of whom none was in the youngest age group and only one was aged fifty-five or over, while *kramflek* and *šmakovat* were each rejected by five speakers (16.67%), also predominantly in the middle two age groups.

Attitudes to spelling would appear to be undergoing a much more radical shift in favour of foreign usage, possibly as a result of increased travel, and changes in modern language teaching policies and work practices since 1989. My survey confrms that people under forty have significantly greater contact with foreign language speakers and are more likely to watch and listen to foreign language broadcasts and to read other languages than the middle-aged and elderly. Half of my informants expressed a preference for the orthography of the donor language in doublets such as *kempink — camping, džentlmen — gentleman, džez — jazz, fér — fair, manažer — manager, mejkap — make-up*, of whom all except four were in the two younger age ranges. Just 30%, including two-thirds of the oldest informants, opted for the Czech spelling. Of the ten informants with an active knowledge of English, only one preferred the use of Czech orthography. Tejnor did not address this question in his research, perhaps because it was not such a pertinent issue, given the less flexible spelling conventions in the early 1970s.

People's opinions on foreign languages largely confirmed what might be expected. Most of my informants (twenty-two or 73.33%) felt English to be a suitable donor language, while just three (all forty years old or over) considered it unsuitable. Moreover, nineteen (63.33%) of the interviewees ranked English as one of the two foreign languages for which they had the most positive feelings, with seventeen (56.66%) saying the same about Slovak. Only five (none in the youngest age range) regarded English as a threat to Czech, while all except two asserted that people without a knowledge of English are at a disadvantage in today's society. Unfortunately, Tejnor's politically expedient decision to link English with other west European languages and Russian with other Slavonic languages (including Slovak) makes it impossible to draw any firm conclusions about changes in attitudes towards either English or Russian. Suffice it to say, opinions on Russian seem to veer towards the negative, with 36.67% of my respondents considering it unsuitable as a source for loanwords and just 16.67% regarding it as suitable. Despite Germany's close geographical and economic ties with the Czech Republic, German is even less popular, with 43.33% of my sample rejecting it as a donor language and 20% deeming it acceptable. In the case of German, direct comparison with Tejnor is, however, possible — his figures were 65 and 21%, respectively, which suggests that outright hostility to German may at least be abating. In contrast to German, ancient Greek

and Latin were seen as suitable source languages by 60% of Tejnor's informants, as well as by half of those questioned in my survey. The classical languages were still regarded as important by my informants, even though only five (in percentage terms, very similar to Tejnor's figure) had actually studied them.

The tendency to hark back to the past and to make favourable comparisons with the norms and values of the present seems to be universal and applies to all areas of human experience, not just to language. Jiří Kraus cites a study, 'Občané o kultuře' (Citizens on Culture), conducted in 1995, in which 47% of Czechs expressed the opinion that levels of artistic achievement were declining, as opposed to 30% who felt they were improving.[21] Both Kraus's questionnaire and my survey looked at views on the state of Czech and concluded that people also think their language is deteriorating. Kraus asked his informants to compare the use of Czech in February 1995 with that of February 1990 (which was still heavily influenced by the dogmatic, 'wooden' style of Communism). Despite the democratization of Czech society in those five years, in all eight of Kraus's categories more of his interviewees asserted that the language had become worse, rather than better. This applied not only to the sixty to sixty-five age range, but also to the eighteen to thirty-nine year olds. Particularly noteworthy was the fact that ten times more people felt that everyday communication had deteriorated rather than improved. Even in the area of political speeches, in which language had its highest approval rating, only 20% of those interviewed identified an improvement. Diagrammatically Kraus's overall findings (in percentage terms) can be represented as follows:

My study followed on chronologically from Kraus's. It considered developments in the spoken and written language over the last ten years, 1995 to 2005, and produced broadly similar (if less detailed) results. Only two of my informants felt that the standards of spoken Czech had improved, whilst not a single informant said the same of written Czech. Fourteen (or 46.67%) of those questioned believed that both the spoken and the written language had deteriorated. The significance of these findings is that they again confirm the enduring appeal of puristic sentiments. Speakers may theoretically accept the need for linguistic change and

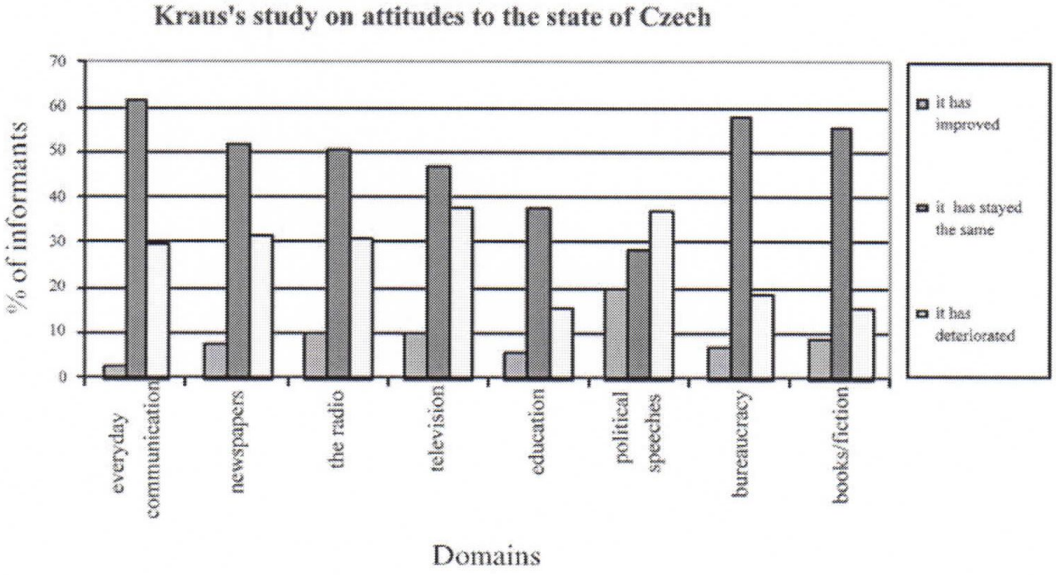



FIGURE 8

even acknowledge the benefits that it brings, but in practice they are inclined to associate it with an erosion of their language culture.

*Part two — 'superfluous' loanwords*

The nineteenth- and early twentieth-century purists frequently paid lip-service to the importance of relexification, while simultaneously undermining the patriotic credentials of those who availed themselves of loanwords. Petr Zenkl argued that 'someone who really loves his language never uses foreign words if, instead, he can employ appropriate and correct Czech words; indeed, he would much rather use two or three Czech words than one foreign word, thereby also enabling him to articulate his thoughts more exactly, clearly and intelligibly to those who cannot discern the true meaning of foreign words.'[22] The purist's dilemma resides precisely in the fact that all too often his or her language lacks the 'appropriate and correct' indigenous lexical items to convey meaning accurately. Most loanwords are adopted purely to fill lexical gaps and thus have a functional importance which supersedes any theoretical considerations. Speakers generally base their choice of words on practical necessity and not on abstract notions of lexical inviolability. As Mathesius pointed out in 1932, 'The path of Czech purism over the last eighty years is littered with the graves of commands and interdictions, which have been trampled over by language practice.'[23] Zenkl's suggestion that the use of two or three carefully selected Czech words may be more comprehensible than one foreign word seems to be little more than a *post hoc* justification for a linguistically barely sustainable position.

In a recent study of English, David Crystal wrote, 'The chief evidence of the prescriptivist failure to control variation lies in the hundreds of manuals giving guidance on usage, style, and linguistic etiquette, which became increasingly common in the nineteenth century . . .'.[24] Bartoš and Zenkl may, paradoxically, have been part of an international movement seeking to determine the development of national languages, but this did not appear to have increased their influence. My data indicate that the Czech public generally failed to heed their advice on redundant loanwords. Only one hundred and thirty-eight (or 25.56%) of the borrowings which they deemed superfluous currently have an average reduced frequency (ARF) rank outside the top 50,000, and thus fail to appear in *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*. A number of these, such as *absoluce* (absolution), *fabrikovat* (to manufacture), *konsignace* (consignment), *misanthrop* (misanthrope) and *subskripce* (subscription), are still found in more narrow linguistic domains. A significant proportion of those terms which have now acquired the status of archaisms or lexical exoticisms were originally taken from French, including *embaláž* (packing), *façona* (fashion), *fauteuil* (armchair) and *sujet* (subject). Most of the other loanwords listed by Bartoš and Zenkl remain well known internationalisms. No fewer than one hundred and seventy-six (or 32.59%) have an ARF rank in the top 10,000; ninety-two (or 17.04%) appear in the top 5000; seventy-five (13.89%) occur in the top 4000; fifty-four (10%) feature in the top 3000; thirty-four (6.3%) figure in the top 2000, and eleven (2.04%) are in the top 1000. The latter group includes *dispozice* (disposal), thanks largely to the phrase *mít k dispozici* (to have at one's disposal), *dokument* (document), which is preferred to *doklad*, *fakt / faktum* (fact), *informovat* (to inform), *materiál* (material), *moderní* (modern), *projekt* (project) and *unie* (union), due mainly to the Czech Republic's membership of the European Union. Three words — *systém* (system), *informace* (information) and *existovat* (to exist) — are to be found in the top 300, with ARF

ranks of 223, 238 and 289, respectively. All the terms cited in *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* would appear to be perfectly secure, and the majority would no longer be regarded as lexical borrowings. Indeed, it is now difficult to think of appropriate Czech alternatives in several of these cases.

The main problem in comparing the use of loanwords and 'indigenous' Czech words is that doublets rarely constitute exact monosemous equivalents, and even where they do, they tend to be stylistically differentiated. The Czech synonyms suggested by Bartoš and Zenkl are perfectly appropriate in some contexts, but not in others. However, if we focus on near synonyms, an interesting trend emerges. As with the doublets considered in my study, there is a strong tendency for speakers to prefer the Czech word. Table 1 contrasts the ARF ranks of sixty semantically similar lemmas (excluding terms outside the top 5000). Only in eleven (or 18.33%) of the cases does the borrowed form have the higher ARF rank: *absence*, *disciplina* (discipline), *dokument* (document), *infekční* (infectious), *korespondence* (correspondence), *lukrativní* (lucrative), *luxus* (luxury), *parfum* (modern Czech: *parfém*)[25] (perfume), *rasa* (race), *sexuální* (sexual) and *symetrie* (symmetry). Elsewhere, the indigenous word is frequently much more common. (To save space, the terms are not translated here.)

It is conceivable that in everyday Czech greater preference may be given to the borrowed lemma in pairs where the foreign counterpart is a colloquialism. However, it also seems likely that some of the spoken forms derived from German are now generally disappearing, despite their continued use in the dialects of larger urban areas, such as Brno. Unfortunately, comparison between the colloquial usage of the past and the present is not possible within the framework of this study, since both the list of terms proscribed by Bartoš and Zenkl and the lemmas cited in *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* are characteristic of non-colloquial written language. It would be interesting to know how Bartoš and Zenkl (who emigrated to the USA after the Communist coup) would have reacted to the recent influx of Anglicisms, given that Czech puristic ardour was inspired more by a fear of German dominance than by a xenophobic distaste for borrowed words. Ironically, there are probably more loanwords in common parlance today than there were at the start of the twentieth century; yet, as my survey indicated, few Czechs feel that English threatens the future development of their language.

## *Conclusion*

The exponential increase in the use of loanwords, especially Anglicisms, has been extensively documented by Czech scholars in recent years, although the process is currently so dynamic and fluid that it is difficult to determine precisely the legitimacy and functions of some of the neologisms.[26] In her helpful summary of English language influence, Ivana Bozděchová cites the main conclusions from Tejnor's questionnaire and asks: 'How would a similar study turn out today? The puristic view of foreign words as a threat is probably no longer an issue. Language users have for the most part understood the necessity of foreign words, especially when it comes to the wider links of our society with the outside world. The question at the present time is not whether or not we use foreign words, but which foreign words, in what form, with what meanings, and in which texts and communicative situations?'[27] Bozděchová, a translator from Czech into English, is firmly of the view that Czechs are not unduly perturbed by the abundance of new Anglicisms. As she remarked in an interview with Dominik Jun for Radio Prague, 'the people of this country have over the centuries, witnessed both the promises and threats of Imperialism, Fascism, Communism, [...] something as

TABLE 1 ARF ranks of sixty semantically similar lemmas

| | Borrowed lemma | ARF | Czech lemma | ARF |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *abonent* | 24378 | ***předplatitel*** | **15874**** |
| 2. | ***absence*** | **3721** | *nepřítomnost* | 5650 |
| 3. | *acceptovati** / *akceptovati** | 3792 | ***přijímat*** | **1475** |
| 4. | *adaptovati** | 12477 | ***přizpůsobovat*** | **6388** |
| 5. | *atheismus** | 23107 | ***nevěra*** | **11074** |
| 6. | *centrální* | 1585 | ***střední*** | **450** |
| 7. | *diference* | 20197 | ***rozdíl*** | **370** |
| 8. | *dimense** / *dimenze* | 5692 | ***rozměr*** | **1922** |
| 9. | ***disciplina*** | **2644** | *kázeň* | 6197 |
| 10. | *distance* | 14105 | ***vzdálenost*** | **283** |
| 11. | ***dokument*** | **952** | *doklad* | 1904 |
| 12. | *efektivní* | 3161 | ***účinný*** | **1738** |
| 13. | *egoismus* / *egoizmus** | 17145 | ***sobectví*** | **13416** |
| 14. | *enthusiasmus** | 22505 | ***nadšení*** | **2749** |
| 15. | *evidentní* | 7631 | ***zřejmý*** | **1717** |
| 16. | *explose** | 5272 | ***výbuch*** | **2648** |
| 17. | *export* | 3987 | ***vývoz*** | **2536** |
| 18. | *falsifikát** / *falzifikát* | 19803 | ***padělek*** | **12918** |
| 19. | *filiálka* | 12746 | ***pobočka*** | **2361** |
| 20. | *garancie** | 6427 | ***záruka*** | **2105** |
| 21. | *identický* | 9898 | ***totožný*** | **6348** |
| 22. | *imitace* | 16166 | ***napodobenina*** | **14204** |
| 23. | *impertinence* | 48899 | ***drzost*** | **10092** |
| 24. | *import* | 8067 | ***dovoz*** | **2364** |
| 25. | *industrie* | 29337 | ***průmysl*** | **943** |
| 26. | ***infekční*** | **8980** | *nakažlivý* | 12725 |
| 27. | *interesantní* | 40672 | ***zajímavý*** | **513** |
| 28. | *internaciolnální* | 17936 | ***mezinárodní*** | **325** |
| 29. | *kasa* | 8603 | ***pokladna*** | **2752** |
| 30. | *kausalný** | 28607 | ***příčinný*** | **21242** |
| 31. | *konfese* / *konfesse** | 22549 | ***vyznání*** | **6398** |
| 32. | *konsekvence* | 30987 | ***důsledek*** | **690** |
| 33. | *konspirace* | 26085 | ***spiknutí*** | **7001** |
| 34. | *konsumace** | 8381 | ***spotřeba*** | **2037** |
| 35. | *kontrakt* | 3561 | ***smlouva*** | **397** |
| 36. | ***korespondence*** | **6883** | *dopisování* | 33296 |
| 37. | *kriminál* | 10059 | ***vězení*** | **1799** |
| 38. | *kulminovati** | 16604 | ***vrcholit*** | **5841** |
| 39. | *legální* | 3683 | ***zákonný*** | **3202** |
| 40. | ***lukrativní*** | **6275** | *výnosný* | 8283 |
| 41. | ***luxus*** | **7820** | *přepych* | 11306 |
| 42. | ***parfum**** | **11567** | *voňavka* | 25482 |
| 43. | *porto* | 49793 | ***poštovné*** | **15343** |
| 44. | *precisní** / *precizní* | 19548 | ***přesný*** | **1221** |
| 45. | *privátní* | 6446 | ***soukromý*** | **586** |
| 46. | *produkt* | 1331 | ***výrobek*** | **1000** |
| 47. | *promptní* | 36133 | ***pohotový*** | **9278** |
| 48. | ***rasa*** | **6619** | *plemeno* | 10571 |
| 49. | *relativně* | 2169 | ***poměrně*** | **892** |
| 50. | *reminiscence* | 15537 | ***vzpomínka*** | **3101** |
| 51. | ***sexuální*** | **3217** | *pohlavní* | 5392 |

TABLE 1 *Continued*

| | Borrowed lemma | ARF | Czech lemma | ARF |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52. | *sezóna* | 1003 | ***období*** | **393** |
| 53. | *sorta* | 23277 | ***druh*** | **443** |
| 54. | *subordinace* | 45144 | ***podřízenost*** | **16993** |
| 55. | ***symetrie / symmetrie**** | **22880** | *souměrnost* | 34623 |
| 56. | *špek* | 21296 | ***slanina*** | **15069** |
| 57. | *šuplata (< šuple)* | 30484 | ***zásuvka*** | **7418** |
| 58. | *švindl* | 38314 | ***podvod*** | **3152** |
| 59. | *toiletta** | 7808 | ***záchod*** | **6230** |
| 60. | *visita** | 22073 | ***návštěva*** | **681** |

* Denotes the old-fashioned spelling used by Bartoš and/or Zenkl.
** The more common form is in bold each time.

benign as Anglicization through tourism, or as transparent as Anglicization through consumerism, doesn't really register as much of a threat.'[28]

Bozděchová is, of course, absolutely right to stress the relatively limited impact of Anglicization on people's everyday lives, but the findings of Gester's survey and my small-scale study suggest that the phenomenon of lexical borrowing cannot be dismissed as a mere irrelevance. Although linguistic globalization may not be the major preoccupation of most ordinary Czechs, it does seem to have a resonance well beyond language specialists. Opinions are divided as to whether loanwords enrich or impoverish the language, but there appears to be a strong residual apprehension about the number of foreign neologisms in Czech and, more especially, about their over-use. These misgivings may be loosely linked to the perception that language standards as a whole are declining, and may also reflect a more general concern over the less desirable aspects of the socio-political and economic changes that have occurred in the Czech Republic since 1989. It would seem that some of the older generation, in particular, find the speed and scale of the innovations difficult to cope with and still hanker after the relative social and linguistic 'stability' of their youth. Moreover, comparative data suggest that there is a consistent and predictable pattern of age-grading, with each generation becoming progressively more conservative in its attitude to language use.

George Thomas offers the following excellent résumé of the operation of generational and social factors on puristic sentiments:

1. Puristic attitudes are not absolute but are subject to a number of variables, including the age and educational profile of the speech community, social situation, stylistic register, subject-matter, and the identity of the source of the lexical item. Blanket condemnation of all 'impurities' in all circumstances is extremely rare.
2. Acceptance of items otherwise subject to puristic censure may be predicated on rationally based functional considerations.
3. A negative attitude to certain linguistic items does not necessarily correlate with banishing them from personal use or, still less, with seeking some native replacement.[29]

The failure of purists such as Bartoš and Zenkl to persuade the general public to endorse their prescriptive approach to language reflects both the reluctance of speakers to engage in wholesale condemnation of lexical borrowing and the functional necessity of loanwords.

While some terms may be adopted because they are modish and others may suggest stylistic differences, most are introduced in order to convey a new meaning or because they have a broader semantic denotation. Thomas's claim that negative perceptions of usage do not automatically result in lexical replacement is also borne out both by Tejnor's survey and by my study. Unless a loanword has unacceptable or outdated connotations, speakers are rarely inclined to substitute it with a neologism. According to Bozděchová, when the readers of *Mladá fronta Dnes* were invited to propose a Czech alternative for 'laptop', they produced a series of playful and inventive suggestions, which indicated scant regard for the rules of word formation and revealed little about their attitudes to lexical borrowing. None of their proposed replacements, such as *drobnočet*, *písítaška* and *poslanečník*, was meant to be taken seriously and none has any realistic chance of entering the standard lexicon.[30] Since the disappearance of the German threat, Czech has tended to assimilate and adapt foreign words, rather than look for loan translations or new terms derived from indigenous sources. In the last hundred years, there have been comparatively few calques, along the lines of *mrakodrap* (skyscraper) (via the German partial translation 'Wolkenkratzer'), *bezpartijní* (non-party), *počítač* (computer) and *nabíječ* ([battery] charger), or Czech-based neologisms, such as *rozhlas* (radio), *vrtulník* (helicopter), *dálnice* (motorway) and *vznášedlo* (hovercraft).

Barring some kind of unexpected puristic backlash, it seems likely that the influx of foreign borrowings will continue, and that any overt opposition to their usage will decline with the passing of the older generation. Many more new words will simply be naturalized, alongside the multitude of Latin and German terms, which are already fully incorporated into the Czech lexical system. Where the status of Czech words is currently unchallenged by internationalisms, it will probably remain so for the foreseeable future. However, it is not possible to predict whether speakers will ultimately opt for well known foreign synonyms to replace firmly established lexical items such as *hliník* (aluminium), *podstatné jméno* (noun) and *zánět* (inflammation). If they do so, the self-appointed guardians of linguistic tradition will doubtless rue the demise of the indigenous terms and forlornly seek their revival. Furthermore, even those speakers who have readily embraced lexical change may one day yearn for a yesteryear when their language was somehow better, purer and truer to its cultural heritage.

[1] See, for example, Robert Auty, 'The role of purism in the development of the Slavonic literary languages', *Slavonic and East European Review* 51, 1973, 124, pp. 335–343, Jaromír Bělič, 'Zákonodárce nové spisovné češtiny: K dvoustému výročí narození Josefa Dobrovského', *Naše řeč* 36, 1953, 7–8, pp. 193–201, František Bílý, *Od kolébky našeho obrození* (Prague: J. Otto, 1904), Antonín Dostál, 'Concerning new and old forms of purism in the Czech literary language', *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 25/26, 1982, pp. 109–114, Gerhard Engelhardt, 'Český a německý purismus z konce 19. století', *Naše řeč* 84, 2001, 5, pp. 235–244, Milan Jelínek, 'O českém purismu', *Přednášky ve xiv běhu Letní školy slovanských studií v roce 1970* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1970), pp. 18–37, Oldřich Ševčík, 'Český jazykový purismus z hlediska funkční teorie spisovného jazyka', *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské university, řady jazykovědné* 22/23, 1974/75, pp. 49–58, Zdenek Salzmann, 'Foreign influences on Czech as a measure of nationalism and internationalism', *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 16, 1989, 1–2, pp. 63–77, and George Thomas, *Linguistic Purism* (New York: Longman, 1991).

[2] Jiří Konstanc, *Lima lingvae Bohemicae: BRUS Jazyka Českého. Neb SPIS O pooprawenj a naostřeni Ržeči Čžeské.* (Prague: Impressy Akademické, 1667), and Václav J. Rosa, *Čechořečnost seu grammatica linguae bohemicae* (Micro-Pragae: Typis Joannis Arnolti a Dobroslawina, 1672). Rosa's neologisms included *spojka*, calqued on the Latin *conjunctio*.

[3] George Thomas, 'The Role of Calques in the Early Czech Language Revival', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 56, 1978, 4, pp. 481–504 (pp. 491–498).

[4] See, for example, Jan Gebauer, *Mluvnice Česká pro školy střední a ústavy učitelské* (Prague: Česká grafická Unie, 1905), and Jan Kaňka, Václav Ertl and Jan Gebauer, *Česká mluvnice s připojenou cvičebnicí a slovníčkem pro obchodní školy* (Prague: Česká grafická Unie, 1929).

[5] The publication of Bohuslav Havránek, Vilém Mathesius and Miloš Weingart (eds), *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* (Prague: Melantrich, 1932), marked a turning-point in Czech language history. The scholars of the Prague Linguistic Circle both succeeded in exposing the fallacy of purism as the basis for determining language development and also effectively forced *Naše řeč* to abandon its prescriptive stance. The short-lived puristic reaction to German hegemony in the immediate post-war period was reflected in publications such as Václav Můller, *Rukověť správné češtiny* (Příbram: A. Pelz, 1946) and Antonín Opavil, *Nikoli . . . nýbrž . . . Kopa hříchů proti dobré mateřštině* (Prague: R. Mikuta, 1946).

[6] It should be noted that Martin Hattala argued strongly against the more extreme advocates of etymological purism, and that Jiří Haller, for all his puristic rhetoric, exerted a restraining influence on some of his more fanatical contemporaries.

[7] Vlasta Pittnerová, *Maloměstští vlastenci* (Prague: Šolc a Šimáček, 1920).

[8] See, for example, Martin Hattala, *Brus jazyka českého. Příspěvek k dějinám osvěty vůbec a slovanské i české zvláště* (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1877).

[9] Roman Jakobson, 'O dnešním brusičství', in *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*, pp. 85–122.

[10] Antonín Tejnor, *Cizí slova v českém jazyce* (Prague: Ústav pro výzkum veřejného mínění, 1971), Jiří Kraus, 'Několik poznámek k pocitu jazykového ohrožení', *Naše řeč* 79, 1996, 1, pp. 1–9, Silke Geste, *Anglizismen im Tschechischen und im Deutschen* (Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Brussels, New York, Oxford & Vienna: Peter Lang, 2001) and Tom Dickins, unpublished survey funded by the British Academy, *Jak reagujete na cizí slova v současné češtině? (How do you react to foreign words in contemporary Czech?)*, conducted by ing. Miroslav Růžička, June–July 2005, and addressed to 20 men and 10 women in the age ranges 15–24 (informants), 25–39 (13), 40–54 (6), 55+ (6). See also Antonín Tejnor *et al.*, 'Přejatá slova a veřejné mínění', *Naše řeč* 55, 1972, 4, pp. 185–201, Silke Gester, *První empirická recepce anglicimů v českém jazyce* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001), and Jiří Kraus, 'Jaká je čeština v letech devadesátých? *(Zpracování anketního výzkumu)*' in František Daneš *et al.*, *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíceletí* (Prague: Academia, 1997), pp. 288–292.

[11] A famous study by W. Wolfram, *A Sociolinguistic Description of Detroit Negro Speech* (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969) was based on just 48 selected black subjects. It is generally accepted by sociolinguistics that a sample of more than 150 informants is redundant for microlinguistic studies.

[12] Alena Polívková, 'K některým postojům uživatelů k jazyku', *Naše řeč* 75, 1992, 4, pp. 177–182 (p. 180).

[13] František Bartoš, *Nová rukověť správné češtiny* (Telč: Emil Šolc, 1901, pp. 159–170) and Petr Zenkl, *Příručka správné mateřštiny* (Prague: Vilímek, 1916–1920, pp. 95–98 and 138–139). The list omitted a small number of Latin and French terms, especially abbreviations and adverbial phrases such as *à vista*; *a. f.*; *anticipando*; *anni praeterri*; *cito*; *en detail*; *en gros*; *h. e.* and *scil.*, which were felt to have always been functionally and stylistically restricted, as well as a few expressions which defied direct comparison, including *respektovati příkaz* (to obey an order) and *špička prstu* (finger tip).

[14] František Čermák, Michal Křen *et al.*, *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2004). *Frekvenční slovník češtiny* is based on the written synchronic corpus *FSC2000* (comprising 95, 854, 929 word forms), which is itself derived from the corpus *SYN2000*, and is part of the Czech National Corpus.

[15] Vilém Mathesius, *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt* (Prague: Melantrich, 1947), p. 446.

[16] Average reduced frequency, according to Jaroslava Hlaváčová's definition, *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*, p. 15, is a measure of 'intuitive commonness' based both on the frequency of a word in the corpus and on its distribution within the corpus. See also Petr Savický & Jaroslava Hlaváčová, 'Measures of Word Commonness', *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics* 9, 2002, 3, pp. 215–231.

[17] Gester's figures do not bear direct comparison since her informants were asked to evaluate a list of given words based on ten different criteria.

[18] Tejnor's data also indicated a correlation between education and attitudes to borrowing, with better educated informants generally expressing strong support for loanwords and less well educated speakers frequently opposed. The only group to whom this did not apply were graduates with a background in the humanities, who were evenly divided on the issue.

[19] In fairness, it should be noted that an even smaller number of informants (7%) in Tejnor's study said that they would seek alternatives for loanwords such as *televize* (television), *motor*, *kino* (cinema) and *profesor* (professor), which had become fully integrated into the Czech lexicon.

[20] The orthographic variation shown by some of these neologisms, including *bil(l)board* and *to(l)kšou*, suggests that they have not yet been completely assimilated into written Czech.

[21] Kraus, 'Několik poznámek k pocitu jazykového ohrožení', p. 7.

[22] Zenkl, *Příručka správné mateřštiny*, p. 7.

[23] Vilém Mathesius, 'O požadavku stability ve spisovném jazyce', in *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*, pp. 14–31 (p. 20).

[24] David Crystal, *The Stories of English* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2005), p. 474.

[25] Note that the French spelling *parfum* is retained in the derivative form *parfumerie* (perfumery).

[26] Recent contributions on the subject include Jaroslav Hubáček, 'K vývojovým tendencím současné české slovní zásoby' in Mieczysław Balowski and Jiří Svoboda (principal editors), *Český jazyk a literatura na sklonku XX. století* (Wałbrzych-Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2001), pp. 109–112, Helena Jodasová, 'Anglicismy v současné pedaogogické terminologii' in *Český jazyk a literatura na sklonku XX. století*, pp. 129–135, Markéta Pravdová, 'Infotainment, politainment, edutainment aneb K jazyku masových médií', *Naše řeč* 86, 2003, 4, pp. 206–217, Jiří Rejzek, 'K formální adaptaci anglicismů', *Naše řeč* 76, 1993, 1, pp. 26–30, Diana Svobodová, 'Anglicismy v českých publicistických textech — důvody a způsoby jejich užívání' in *Jinakost, cizost v jazyce a v literatuře (Sborník z mezinárodní konference)* (Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 1999), pp. 165–169, Diana Svobodová, 'Anglicismy v českém publicistickém stylu', *Naše řeč* 79, 1996, 2, pp. 99–105, Diana Svobodová, 'Anglická a hybridní kompozita v současné češtině a jejich adaptace', *Naše řeč* 82, 1999, 3, pp. 122–126, Diana Svobodová, 'Přejatá slova v češtině z pohledu uživatelů jazyka', *Český jazyk a literatura* 52, 2001, 7–8, pp. 170–178, and Diana Svobodová, 'Současné tendence ve vývoji české slovní zásoby' in *Čeština — Jazyk slovanský* (Ostravská univerzita: Ostrava, 2001), p. 113.

[27] Ivana Bozděchová, 'Vliv angličtiny na češtinu' in Daneš *et al.*, *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíciletí*, pp. 271–279 (pp. 271–272).

[28] Dominik Jun, 'Is English threatening the Czech language?' *Radio Praha: Český rozhlas 7*. 2 August 2004. Accessed 10 September 2004, http://www.radio.cz/en/article/56646.

[29] Thomas, *Linguistic Purism*, p. 43.

[30] Bozděchová, 'Vliv angličtiny na češtinu', p. 278.

*Appendix*

All the words below are cited according to the orthographic forms employed by Bartoš and Zenkl.

*abonent — abonovati; absence — absentovati se; absolvovati; absoluce — absolutně — absolutní; acceptovati / akceptovati; adaptace — adaptovati; administrace — administrativní; adresa — adresant — adresát — adresovati; affect — affektovaný; agent — agentura; akklimatisace — akklimatisovati se; akkord; akkreditovati; akt; alternativa; amnestie; amortizovati; analogie; analyse / analyze; anektovati — anexe; animovati — animovaný; anonce; anonymní; antipathie; apologie; applanovati; applaudovati — applaus; aranžovati; argument; arogantní; arrondovati; asekurace — asekurační; assanace — assanační; assistence — assistovati; associace; asyl; atheismus — atheista; aureola; autonomie — autonomní; autopsie; autorizovati; auxiliarní; avis / aviso / avizo — avisovati / avizovati; axioma; banální; barokní; beneficium — beneficiát; benevolence; bilance; blanket; blaseovaný; brutalný; brutto; budžet; bureau / byró; cech; centrála — centrální; cirkulář — cirkulovati; cukati; cyklus; debatta — debattovati; dedukce — dedukovati; defekt; definice — definovati — definitivně — definitivní / de — finitivný; defraudace — defraudovati; delegovati; delikt; denuncovati; desolatní; desperátní; detail — detailní; detto; diference; dilettant — dilettantský; dimense / dimenze; dipense — dipensovati; disciplina; diskuse / diskusse — diskutovati; disposice — disponován (> disponovaný); distance; dokument — dokumentovati; domestikace; drastický; dubiosní; efekt / effekt — efektivně — efektivní — efektní — effektuovati; egoismus / egoizmus — egoistický — egoista; elegance — elegantní; embalážˇ; emfase — emfaticky; emitovati; enormní; enthusiasmus — enthusiasticky; epidemický; episoda; etablissement; etat; eventualita — eventuálný — eventuelně; evidence — evidentní; excedent; excerpovati — excerpta; excess; exemplární — exemplárně; existovati; exkludovati — exklusivní — exkluzive; expedice — expeditor — expedovati; experiment — experimentalný; explodovat — explose; exponovati (se); export — exportovati; extase — extatický; extrém; fabrika — fabrikovati; façona; fakt / faktum; fakturovati; falešný; falsifikace — falsifikát / falzifikát; falt; familiarný; fatální / fatalný; fauteuil; feuilleton; filiálka; fingovat (> fingovaný); fol. / folio; frankovati; frekventní; fungovati; gage / gáže; garancie — garantovati; garnitura; generace; genesis; graciósní; grandiósní; grozista; hermeticky — hermetický; identický; ignorance — ignorovati; illuminace / iluminace — illuminovati (> iluminovaný); illuse / iluze — illusorní; imitace — imitovati; impertinence — impertinentní; import — importovati; impuls; imputovati; index; indignace; indolence — indolentní; industriální — industrie; infekční; informace — informační — informovati; inkluzive; intelligent; intence; interes — interesantní; internaciolnální; interurbánní; intimní; intriky (< intrika); inventářˇ — inventovati; investovati; jubilejní; jun. / junior; kanapé; kapitál — kapitální; kaptivovati; kardinalní; kariera; kasa — kasír — kasírovati — kasovní; kasační; kausalný — kausalita; klauzule; kolekce; kolona; koloniální; komis; kondukt — konduktér; konfese / konfesse; konfiskace — konfiskovati; konflikt; konfuse — konfusní; konkurence — konkurovati; konsekvence — konsekventní; konsignace — konsignovati; konskripce; konspirace — konspirovati; konstatovati; konstituce — konstituční — konstituovati (se); konsumce — konsument — konsumovati; kontakt; kontext; konto — kontovati; kontor; kontrakt; kontrast — kontrastovati; kontrola; konvence — konvenovati; konverse; konvulsivní; kopie — kopírovací; korektní; korespondence — korespondent — korespondovati; korporativně; korpulentní; kreatura; kredit — kreditní; krida; kriminál; kulantní; kulminace — kulminovati; kurenda — kurantní / kurentní; kuriosní; kuvert; kvalita; kvantita; kvintesence; kvota; labilní; laborovati; lakonický; laxní — laxnost; legalizace — legalizovati — legální; legitimace — legitimační — legitimní; licitace; likvidní; lukrativní; luxus; magacín; malér / malheur; maliciósní; malversace; manufaktura; massa; maska; materiál — materielní; matný; meliorace; memoáry; meritorní; merkantilní; misanthrop; moderní; moderovati (se); modus;*

*mortalita; mundovati; munificience — munificienní; návladní; nebulósní; niveau; nominální; notorický; noveauté; nuance; numerický; obligátní; oferovati — oferta; oficiální; ovace; ovální; pagina; panika — panicky; parfum; parvenu; pasivní; penále; perhoreskovati; personal — personalie; perversní / perverzní; piknik; planina / pláň; plenární; porto; postmortální; pracna; precisní / precizní; presantní / pressantní; praeterovati / preterovati; praeventivní; prekérní; princip — principelní; privátní; privilegium; pro forma; producent — produkce — produkovati — product; profit; progresivně; projekt; prolongace — prolongovati; promptní; proponovati (> proponovaný); protokol — protokolista; provize — provisorní / provizorní; prubovati; přitrefiti se; punktace; rabatt; rasa; ratifikace; realita / realizovati (se) / reelní; redukce; referát — referovati — referent; refrén; regressovati se; reklamace; rekomandace / rekomendace — rekomandovati — rekomandovaný; rekompensace; rekurovati — rekurs; relace; relativně — relativní; reminiscence; remunerace; renegát*; renomé; renovace; rentovati se; reparatura; reputace; resignovati; resistence / rezistence — resistovati; respective; restrikce; reverse — reversní; revidovati — revise; režie; rheumatismus; rigorosní — rigorosa; ritus; roura; sekretář; semestr; sen. / senior; seriosný; sexuální; sezóna — sezónní; simulovati; sistovati; skandal — skandalní — skandalisovati; skepse; skizza; skrofule — skrofulosní; skrupule — skrupulosní; sorta; splendidní; spontanní — spontanně; sporadicky — sporadický; stabilní; stativ; statut; strike; stupidní; subalterní; subjektivní; subordinace; subskribovati — subskripce — subskripční; subvence; succus; suggerovati; sujet; sukcesive; sukurs; supernaturalistický; sustentace; symetrie / symmetrie; synthese; systém — systematický; špeditér; špek; špičatý; šuplata (< šuple); švindl — švindléř; taksa / taxa; talent; tenor; terror — terorizmus; thé; toiletta; tortura; tradicionální; tradukce; transcendentální; transito; transport — transportovati; trasovati; tyfus; unie; urgence; utensilie; uzance; variace; vegetace; vehemence; vidovati; viktualie; visita — visitace; vloček (sněhu); vulgární; zelotický; ženirovati se*

*Incorrectly recorded as 'regenát' in *Příručka správné mateřštiny*.

# Češi a slovenština

Tom Dickins

**The Czechs and the Slovak language**

**Abstract:** This study employs a range of up-to-date statistical information, including the findings of two nationwide surveys conducted on the author's behalf, to evaluate current perceptions of Slovak in the Czech Republic. Where appropriate, the results are compared with the evidence of other questionnaires (including Tejnor: 1971).

**Keywords:** Czech, Slovak, perceptions, attitudes, bilingualism, semi-communication, dialects

## Úvod

Tento článek používá empirická data za účelem kontextualizace a shrnutí postojů Čechů ke slovenštině a jejich představ o znalosti slovenštiny. Klade si dále za cíl osvětlit změny, které nastaly po roce 1989, a přispět v obecnějším smyslu k existujícím poznatkům o česko-slovenských jazykových vztazích. Zároveň také usiluje o vyzdvižení obtížnosti při vymezení statutu dvou zeměpisně přilehlých kontaktních jazyků, jejichž identitu mluvčí definují ve stejné míře pomocí sdílené politické a historické zkušenosti (zejména ve dvacátém století) a jejich etnických, kulturních a jazykových rozdílů. Evidence je primárně shromážděna ze dvou celonárodních výzkumů, provedených pro autora v Centru pro výzkum veřejného mínění Sociologického ústavu AV ČR, v.v.i.: „Postoje českých mluvčích k lexikálním výpůjčkám" (dále jen „Postoje") a „Češi a slovenština".[1] Obsah a metodologie těchto výzkumů jsou založeny na různé řadě diachronních a synchronních dat, zejména pak studie z roku 1971 v Institutu pro výzkum veřejného mínění (předchůdce CVVM), a tří rozsáhlých průzkumů Evropské unie.[2]

Rozsáhlý výzkum česko-slovenských jazykových vztahů je doložen jak u českých, tak u slovenských badatelů. Zaměřuje se na řadu vzájemně propojených témat zahrnujících:

1. roli jazyka v procesu budování národa, a nesouměrnou historii česko-slovenských jazykových vztahů [např. Nábělková 2007; Berger 2003; Lipowski 2005]
2. otázku československého jazyka za první republiky [např. Šmejkalová 2005; Lipowski 2005]
3. pojetí a užívání československého jazyka po roce 1948 [Budovičová 1974; Zeman2007]
4. lexikální, morfologické a syntaktické vlivy češtiny na slovenštinu a naopak [Dolník 1992; Musilová 2005]

5. stupeň vzájemné srozumitelnosti obou jazyků [např. Budovičová 1987; Sloboda 2004]
6. pasivní dvojjazyčnost v česko-slovenských kontaktních situacích [Budovičová 1988; Musilová 2000]
7. jazykovou asimilaci a ponechání vlastního jazyka mezi Čechy žijícími na Slovensku a Slováky v Česku (zahrnující pohraniční komunity) [např. Hernová, Sokolová 2000; Ivaňová 2002]
8. jazykovou volbu a míšení kódu v česko-slovenských kontaktních situacích [Hoffmannová, Müllerová 1993; Sloboda 2005]
9. slovenštinu jako menšinový jazyk v České republice a češtinu jako menšinový jazyk na Slovensku [Neústupný, Nekvapil 2003; Votruba 1998]
10. postoje ke slovenštině v České republice a k češtině na Slovensku [např. Budovičová 1974].[3]

Tato studie se dotýká řady těchto témat ve snaze o syntézu měnícího se vztahu Čechů k národnímu jazyku jejich nejbližších slovanských sousedů. Použití kvantitativní metodologie nedovolí detailnější zvážení procesů vyjednávání, které charakterizují česko-slovenský diskurz na mikroúrovni, nicméně poskytuje nejpřesnější ukazatel současných postojových trendů. Otázka, zda je možné interpretaci dosažitelnosti slovenštiny běžnými českými mluvčími potvrdit pomocí pečlivého akademického zkoumání a zda jejich představy mají jakýkoli vliv na širší sociální, politické a ekonomické vztahy, je v kontextu této studie sekundární. Je možné, že Berger [2003] ve své velice dobře informované studii Čechů a Slováků žijících ve vzájemně sousedících zemích nezohledňuje v plném rozsahu platnost Tejnorových poznatků z roku 1971, a to, že 33 % respondentů tvrdilo, že slovenštině vůbec nerozumí.[4] Důležitost Tejnorových dat spočívá právě v tendenci značného množství českých mluvčích ve své době podceňovat lingvistickou blízkost obou jazyků. Češi před rokem 1968 všeobecně nebyli nuceni dosáhnout dobrého ovládnutí slovenštiny, a proto mohou být více nakloněni ke zdůrazňování těch aspektů spisovné slovenštiny, jež se lišily od jejich vlastního jazyka (obzvláště lexikální prvky a morfologické rysy), nebo k soustředění se na propastný rozdíl mezi češtinou a nestandardními variantami slovenštiny (zejména východoslovenskými dialekty, rusínským nářečím a hybridními formami používanými Romy). Skutečnost, že téměř jeden z deseti Dickinsových dotázaných v roce 2007 také popíral jakoukoli znalost slovenštiny, potvrzuje, že ne všichni čeští mluvčí považují oba jazyky za vzájemně srozumitelné. Zdá se pravděpodobné, že respondenti v této skupině byli nadmíru ovlivněni svou neschopností ve slovenštině aktivně komunikovat, ačkoli někteří mluvčí (zejména mladší generace) mohli také zohledňovat své nedokonalé *receptivní* dovednosti (v současné době občas označovány v české lingvistické teorii jako *percepční* dovednosti).

## Pozadí česko-slovenských jazykových kontaktů

Nesouměrný vztah mezi češtinou a slovenštinou je zakořeněn v historii obou národů a byl názorně popsán v pracích Bergera, Nábělkové a dalších. Není zde třeba opakovat veškeré detaily, nicméně obecný nárys je nutný pro uvedení současné situace do kontextu. Postačí konstatovat, že spisovná čeština široce utvářela vývoj slovenštiny od čtrnáctého do devatenáctého století jako výsledek náboženského a vzdělávacího kontaktu.[5] Status češtiny byl upevněn migrací protestantů z Čech a Moravy na slovensky mluvící území Horních Uhrů, která byla následkem porážky v bitvě na Bílé hoře v roce 1620. A někteří Slováci trvali na poslovenštěné podobě spisovné češtiny (*bibličtina*) do počátku minulého století. Když Ľudovít Štúr (sám protestant na plně katolickém území) kodifikoval jazyk v roce 1840, založil ho na středoslovenském nářečí, ovšem i on provedl některé menší ústupky ve prospěch dříve navržené standardizace západoslovenského nářečí Antonem Bernolákem. Nová norma tedy reprezentovala rozumný, nicméně docela konzervativní kompromis – byla morfologicky a fonologicky vzdálenější spisovné češtině než *bernoláčtina*, ale stále v sobě nesla podstatnou podobnost s východoslovenskými nářečími v pravopisu, lexiku a syntaxi.

Následné vypovězení slovenštiny ze škol v Horních Uhrách od poloviny sedmdesátých let devatenáctého století zpomalilo ekonomický, kulturní a jazykový vývoj slovenských mluvčích, což mělo za následek skutečnost, že po roce 1918 byli Češi požádáni, aby podnikli většinu vzdělávacích a administrativních změn na Slovensku. Nesouměrný vztah mezi češtinou a slovenštinou byl zesílen ve dvacátých a třicátých letech regulováním odborného názvosloví a umělými konvergentními a divergentními tendencemi vůči češtině, někdy dokonce za cenu narušení správného úzu. Čeští lingvisté se snažili nasměrovat vývoj slovenštiny k normám češtiny prostřednictvím prosazování jednotnosti v použití specializované terminologie, a to zejména ve vědě a technologii, zatímco slovenští lingvisté vyjadřovali různé, někdy i protikladné názory.[6] Aleš Brandner [2006] ve své recenzi knihy *Konvergence a divergence češtiny a slovenštiny v československém státě* poznamenává, že: „...Slovenští puristé vystupovali za očistu spisovné slovenštiny od českých vlivů. Jejich protivníci, tj. ti, kteří byli pro sbližování češtiny a slovenštiny, se rekrutovali ze dvou táborů: jeden tvořili čechoslovakisté (představovaní českým jazykovědcem V. Vážným), druhý tvořil zástupce rodícího se slovenského strukturalismu (Ľ. Novák)."[7]

Nutná reorganizace slovenského školství a jiných veřejných institucí byla do omezené míry zjednodušena genetickou blízkostí češtiny a slovenštiny, ale vnitřní lingvistické faktory hrály mnohem méně důležitou roli v úspěchu nového uspořádání slovenské společnosti než politická rozhodnutí učiněná v Praze. Mezi nejkontroverznějšími zákonodárnými iniciativami zavedenými v období první republiky patřil jazykový zákon z roku 1920, který stanovil „jazyk československý" jako „oficiální státní jazyk v republice", mluvený „československým národem", jenž se skládal ze dvou větví, Čechů a Slováků.[8] Tento zákon odrážel názory mnoha vlivných českých badatelů, ale nikdy nebyl na Slovensku jednoznačně schvalován. Miloš Weingart vyjádřil mínění spíše Čechů než Slováků, když napsal v roce 1918: „...Slovenština, i když se povýšila na řeč spisovnou, není zkrátka zvláštní slovanský jazyk, nýbrž jenom druhá, krajinská forma československého jednotného jazyka."[9] Snahy definovat *československou* (jednotný československý jazyk) a zavést ji do učebních osnov nakonec ztroskotaly jak vzhledem k tomu, že rozdíly mezi spisovnou češtinou a spisovnou slovenštinou byly příliš velké, tak také proto, že se v praxi u Slováků očekávalo lepší ovládání češtiny než slovenštiny u Čechů.[10] Ačkoli se obě varianty navrhovaného československého jazyka těšily rovnoprávnosti de iure, čeština byla de facto jazyk ústřední administrativy a státního zřízení.[11]

Když byla respondentům položena otázka „Co znamená výraz *československá*?", 549 (49 %) respondentů v projektu „Češi a slovenština" v září 2007 odpovědělo, že to pro ně nic neznamená, a 167 (15 %) prohlásilo, že neví. Pouhých 131 (12 %) interpretovalo výraz správně jako zastupující myšlenku jednotného československého jazyka, zatímco 253 (22 %) zvolilo možnost míšení kódů; tj. kombinace češtiny a slovenštiny (jak je znázorněno použitím slovenských názvů měsíců českými mluvčími, když se obracejí na Slováky v češtině, nebo volbou slovenských mluvčích v případě, řekněme, *housky* a *borůvky* namísto *žemľy* a *čučoriedky*, když nakupují jídlo v České republice). Zbylých 25 (2 %) respondentů navrhovalo alternativní, zcela odlišné vysvětlení. Definice, které uvádějí slovníky z období první republiky a z komunistické éry, svědčí o pestré historii termínu a stěží poskytují dostatečné objasnění pro nezasvěcené. *Československá* je definována v *Příručním slovníku jazyka českého*, A-J [1935-1937: 315], jako „starší název pro společný spisovný jazyk Čechů, Moravanů, Slezanů a uherských Slováků; čeština v širším smyslu", a slovenská varianta *československčina* je odmítnuta jako slovo „méně spr[ávné]". Definice dále zároveň označuje *československou* za „... nyní společný název jazyka národa československého, který má spisovné znění české a spisovné znění slovenské". Oproti tomu *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, A-G (1989: 252), tento termín definuje jako: „...(dř.[íve] v buržoazně nacionalistickém pojetí) jednotný, ve skutečnosti neexistující jazyk Čechů a Slováků ve dvojím spisovném znění, českém a slovenském".

Poněkud více respondentů - 450 (40 %) - bylo připraveno zvolit definici pro kulturně-politický koncept *čechoslovakismus*, ale zatímco 343 (30 % ze všech dotázaných) ho identifikovalo správně jako představu o existenci jednotného československého národa, 100 (9 %) ho interpretovalo chybně jako slovo existující v češtině i slovenštině. Mezi dotázanými mladšími 20 let pouze 17 % zvolilo korektní definici, zatímco poměr vzrostl na 37 % u respondentů ve věkové skupině 45-59 let. Většina Čechů v době první republiky ochotně přijímala pojem *čechoslovakismus*, podepřený osobní autoritou T.G. Masaryka, ačkoli jeho užití oponovala Slovenská Lidová strana stejně tak jako mnozí ze slovenské inteligence. Samotný koncept *čechoslovakismu* byl uváděn na základě skrytého předpokladu, že Češi a jejich jazyk měli hrát vedoucí roli v novém státě. Jak poznamenal Ladislav Holý: „Jednou z nejdůležitějších funkcí ideologie čechoslovakismu bylo zakrýt fakt, že Češi považovali Československo za svůj stát, a zamaskovat jejich dominantní roli v tomto státě vytvořením iluze, že byl zároveň český a slovenský."[12] (tabulka 1)

Dokonce i po válce, když Košický program měl za cíl vytvořit jednotný stát rovnoprávných občanů a pojem *československého jazyka* byl opuštěn komunistickými autoritami jako buržoazní koncept, čeština zůstala dominantním jazykem. Ani komunistické rozlišení mezi *národy* (tedy Čechy a Slováky) a *národnostmi* („národními' etnickými minoritami jako například Němci a Poláky), ani příliv Slováků do česky mluvících zemí neměl větší dopad na status slovenštiny. Na počátku padesátých let bylo několik Slováků na vedoucích pozicích odsouzeno jako *buržoazní nacionalisté*, bez ohledu na své politické a třídní posudky - v první řadě za účelem posílit autoritu komunistické strany a nalézt viníka československého ekonomického selhání -, ale zároveň také pravděpodobně za cílem přerušit slovenské separatistické stanovisko. Plný dosah slovenské nespokojenosti vyšel najevo až v šedesátých letech, kdy začali Slováci usilovat o nové definování česko-slovenských vztahů s cílem dosáhnout větší míry samourčení. Skilling [1976] argumentoval, že otázka demokratizace byla v období Pražského jara méně důležitá než otázka rovnoprávnosti, a to jak pro slovenské vedení, tak pro širokou veřejnost.[13] Federalizace Československa v říjnu 1968 teoreticky poskytla Slovensku zřetelně více samostatnosti, ovšem pouze v rozmezí přísných omezení centrální autority, která byla vynucena normalizací. Lingvisté v té době mimo jiné předpokládali, že je jejich úkolem zdůrazňovat vzájemnou srozumitelnost obou jazyků raději než se soustředit na ty oblasti jazykových rozdílů, které by mohly představovat potíže. Slovenština byla od roku 1990 jediný oficiálně uznaný státní jazyk na Slovensku, ačkoli čeština je zde povolena v kontaktu s českými autoritami a menšiny mohou používat svůj vlastní jazyk v kontaktu se slovenskými autoritami v případech, kdy tvoří více než 20 % populace v dané obci. V letech 1995 a 1999 byly na Slovensku zavedeny dva nové jazykové zákony; první z nich, založený na zákoně z roku 1990, si kladl za cíl posílit status slovenštiny (ve vztahu k jiným jazykům, obzvláště maďarštině), zatímco druhý zákon byl představen zejména pro uspokojení požadavků Evropské unie v oblasti menšinových jazyků.[14] Navzdory legislaci z roku 1995 si čeština udržuje výrazné postavení ve slovenských médiích, společenských vědách a ve vyšším vzdělání - široký rozsah literatury a jiných psaných materiálů zůstává i nadále dostupný v češtině.[15] Slovenština je podobně široce uplatňována v České republice, a to zejména v televizi a rádiu, na pracovišti i v obchodech, nicméně čeští mluvčí obecně neprokazují stejnou míru vystavení se slovenskému jazyku a kultuře jako Slováci češtině a českému prostředí. V kontextu česko-slovenského diskurzu lingvisté ne vždy připisují dost velký význam roli sociokulturních znalostí pro rozumění, ale jejich důležitost byla zřetelně demonstrována Zemanem [1997] v jeho testu rozumění založeném na slovenském televizním programu.[16]

Přestože jazykový vliv slovenštiny na češtinu nebyl tak významný jako tomu bylo v opačném případě, existuje řada

**Tabulka 1: Co znamenají výrazy československá a čechoslovakismus? (s vyloučením „bez odpovědi")**

| Československá? | Všichni | Čechoslovakismus? | Všichni |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nic | 549 (49%) | Nic | 498 (44%) |
| Spojení slovenštiny s češtinou | 253 (22%) | Slovo existující v češtině i slovenštině | 100 (9%) |
| Představa o existenci jednotného čs. jazyka | 131 (12%) | Představa o existenci jednotného čs. národa | 343 (30%) |
| Jiná odpověď | 25 (2%) | Jiná odpověď | 7 (1%) |
| Neví | 167 (15%) | Neví | 177 (16%) |

**Poznámka:** zaokrouhlená procenta přesně neodpovídají uváděným číslům.

frází v každodenní češtině, které je možné přímo přisoudit slovenštině. Musilová [2005] cituje některé příklady slovakismů v médiích, které jsou potvrzeny dalšími českými mluvčími, zahrnující: „... *nad ránem (= k ránu)*" a „*být na čele (= být v čele); dovolenka (= dovolená)*" a „*rozlučka (= rozloučená)* (a jejich derivativy); *vlámat se někam (vloupat se)*" a „*namyšlený (= nafoukaný)*".[17] Nicméně většina Čechů si vzhledem k blízkosti češtiny a slovenštiny není do značné míry vědoma původu takových výrazů. Pouhých 110 (10 %) respondentů v projektu „Češi a slovenština" připustilo, že občas užívají slovakismy, zatímco 733 (65 %) tvrdilo, že je nepoužívají vůbec, a dalších 229 (20 %) prohlásilo, že je používají, ale pouze z legrace. Hravost, která charakterizuje postoj některých českých mluvčích ke slovenskému jazyku, je bezpochyby míněna v srdečném smyslu, ovšem může také přispívat k obecnému dojmu, že Češi ne vždy plně respektují jazykové a kulturní tradice svého někdejšího partnera.

## Varianty češtiny a slovenštiny

Mnohé jazyky mají *standardní* nebo *spisovné* formy, osvojované zejména ve vzdělávacím procesu, spíše než užívané jako přirozené neoficiální (mluvené) prostředky v domácnosti. Nicméně, rozdíly mezi spisovnou češtinou a její běžně mluvenou podobou jsou obzvláště zřetelné, protože spisovná čeština výrazně čerpá z předchozích vývojových podob pozdního 16. století, které byly samy inspirovány (někdy zastaralým) stavem ze 14. století. Změny, které nastaly v češtině 15. století, podobně vysvětlují některé rozdíly mezi současnými standardními formami češtiny a slovenštiny. Čeština má na rozdíl od slovenštiny obecně uznávaný interdialekt, takzvanou obecnou češtinu, která má svůj původ v oblasti středních Čech a je nyní rozšířena v celých Čechách a na západní Moravě. Obecná čeština se šíří jako mluva médií, ale mluvený jazyk v televizi a rádiu je natolik různorodý a zahrnuje tolik jazykových variant, že není možné tvrdit, do jaké míry ovlivňuje každodenní jazyk českých mluvčích na střední a východní Moravě a ve Slezsku.

Tradiční dialekty v Čechách nyní z velké části zanikly - ne tak docela zásluhou úspěchu obecné češtiny, nicméně byly do této doby zachovány na střední a východní Moravě a ve Slezsku.[18] Neústupný a Nekvapil [2003] se shodují na dichotomii mezi spisovným a obecným jazykem v Čechách a na západní Moravě, a mezi spisovným jazykem a jednotlivými dialekty na zbytku Moravy a ve Slezsku.[19] Dialekty na Slovensku stále hrají mnohem podstatnější roli než dialekty na českém území a nemusí prozatím čelit hrozbě jakéhokoli interdialektu, ačkoli důležitost Bratislavy nevyhnutelně znamená, že její mluva ovlivňuje jazyk nespočetného množství Slováků žijících mimo hlavní město.

Jazykovou situaci v České republice a na Slovensku je možné zjednodušeně shrnout v následující tabulce 2.[20]

V rámci tohoto příspěvku nás zajímá východní Morava, která obsahuje tři nářeční podskupiny: Valašsko na severu (obzvláště východ od Rožnova a Vsetína a kolem města Valašské Klobouky); Moravské Kopanice na severním Moravském Slovácku (zahrnující Starý Hrozenkov a okolní obce) a zbytek Moravského Slovácka na jihozápadě (čili menší oblasti Horňácko, Dolňácko a Podluží, a areál Hodonína).[22] Moravské nářečí se místy stává v některých těchto oblastech fakticky nerozeznatelné od severní skupiny západoslovenských nářečí (používaných například v areálech Senice a Skalica v trnavské oblasti, a Myjava, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Ilava a Púchov v oblasti Trenčín). Podobnosti mezi východomoravskými dialekty a nejzápadnějšími slovenskými nářečími zahrnují infinitivní koncovku ‚-ť' místo ‚-t' (na Valašsku a v Moravských Kopanicích), rozdíl mezi ‚l' a ‚ľ' (na Valašsku stejně tak jako ve Slezsku), nepřítomnost znělého ‚ř' (v Moravských Kopanicích), užití 1. osoby plurálu končící na ‚-m' místo ‚-me' (v Moravském Slovácku), a nepřítomnost tvrdého ‚-y' (v Moravském Slovácku). Ostatní nápadné morfofonémické odchylky od spisovné češtiny zahrnují užití koncového ‚-ú' místo ‚-ou' a krácení dlouhých vokálů v jednoslabičných slovech (například *bit, dat* a *nama*).[23]

Přechod mezi českými a slovenskými nářečími může být znázorněny jako součást jazykového kontinua. Obecně používaný příklad pro ilustraci fonologických rozdílů mezi češtinou a slovenštinou nabízí Tabulka 3.[24]

Moravská nářečí tvoří most mezi češtinou a slovenštinou, což pravděpodobně přispívá významně k rozumění slovenštině v českých zemích. Jak zdůraznil Ondřej Bláha [2005], stejně důležitá pro vývoj češtiny je skutečnost, že tato nářečí

**Tabulka 2**

| ČESKÁ REPUBLIKA | SLOVENSKO |
|---|---|
| **Kodifikované varianty** | |
| **Spisovná čeština**, zahrnující o něco více kolokviální, nepřesně definovanou mluvenou variantu **hovorová čeština.** | **Spisovná slovenština** |
| **Interdialekty** | |
| **Obecná čeština** | |
| **Tradiční dialekty (a jejich skupiny)** | |
| **České**<br>severovýchodní, střední, jihozápadní, česko-moravské | **Západoslovenské**<br>severní, jihovýchodní, jihozápadní |
| **Středomoravské (Hanácké)** | **Středoslovenské**<br>severní, jižní |
| **Východomoravské**<br>moravskoslovenské | **Východoslovenské**<br>jihozápadní, střední, východní |
| **Slezské**<br>lašskoslezské (slezskomoravské), slezskopolské, | **Další skupiny**<br>goralské, ukrajinské, maďarská oblast |

zároveň zabraňují tomu, aby se obecná čeština stala českým hovorovým standardem.[25] Přestože většina Čechů a Slováků akceptuje geopolitický pojem dvou národních států a bez váhání přijímá představu jazyka jako ztělesnění svých rozdílů, existuje zde také rozšířené stanovisko, které uznává kulturní a jazykové podobnosti mezi Moravany a Slováky. Z 589 respondentů, kteří vyjádřili svůj názor ve studii „Češi a slovenština", 282 (48 %) považovalo rozdíly mezi východomoravskými dialekty a spisovnou češtinou za větší než rozdíly mezi východomoravskými dialekty a slovenštinou, zatímco pouze o sedm více dotázaných (289, tedy 49 %) považovalo rozdíly mezi východomoravskými nářečími a slovenštinou za definitivně větší než v případě východomoravských nářečí a spisovné češtiny. Většina lidí v Praze a na jihozápadě, severozápadě a severovýchodě Čech byla toho názoru, že východomoravská nářečí jsou blíže slovenštině než češtině. Lidé na většině území Moravy měli ovšem tendenci zdůrazňovat podobnosti mezi východomoravskými nářečími a spisovnou češtinou. Zřetelná většina dotázaných v středovýchodních/východních moravských a moravskoslezských městech, jako jsou Kroměříž, Vsetín, Uherské Hradiště, Opava, Frýdek-Místek a Karviná považovala východomoravská nářečí za bližší svému národnímu jazyku než slovenštině. 14 dotázaných z 20 (70 %), kteří vyjádřili svůj názor v pohraničním Hodoníně, prohlásilo, že rozdíly mezi východomoravskými nářečími a slovenštinou jsou buď rozhodně, anebo pravděpodobně větší než rozdíly mezi východomoravskými nářečími a spisovnou češtinou.

Tendence lidí žijících v Čechách připouštět podobnosti mezi východomoravskými nářečími a slovenštinou a tendence středovýchodních/východních Moravanů zdůrazňovat jejich jazykovou spojitost se standardní formou mateřského jazyka jsou jedněmi z nejvíce se vyskytujících závěrů vycházejících ze zkoumaných dat. Tyto závěry naznačují jednak rozsah, ve kterém čeští mluvčí rozlišují mezi tradičními východomoravskými nářečími a spisovnou češtinou, tak i sílu požadavku lidí ze středovýchodní/východní Moravy potvrdit svou českost. Z hlediska důležitosti jazyka jako ukazatele národní identity v České republice je možná nevyhnutelné, že východní Moravané záměrně podceňují vzájemnou blízkost stylu své mluvy se slovenštinou, a to bez ohledu na svou náklonnost ke slovenským lidem. Je také v zájmu slovenských úřadů, aby propagovaly jazykové rozdíly mezi všemi formami češtiny a spisovnou slovenštinou, a to jak v souladu s veřejným míněním, tak jako způsob jeho ovlivňování.

## Určení statutu slovenštiny

Průzkum veřejného mínění Eurobarometr zjistil, že 60 % Čechů ve věku 15 a více let bylo schopno konverzovat v cizím jazyce, zatímco podle jiných dat Evropské unie 29 % bylo schopno mluvit dvěma cizími jazyky.26 Provedený průzkum bohužel citoval pouze procentní hodnoty pro tři nejrozšířeněji mluvené jazyky - němčinu (31 %), angličtinu (24 %) a ruštinu (19 %) - a obě studie nezahrnovaly žádnou zmínku o slovenštině. Ačkoli toto opomenutí může poskytnout větší objektivitu při hodnocení úspěchu vyučování cizích jazyků, má prokazatelně za následek zkreslení jazykových dovedností Čechů - a což je ještě problematičtější, ponechává neurčený status slovenštiny.[27] Rozhodnutí slovenských úřadů uznat češtinu jako cizí jazyk, které pravděpodobně nebylo učiněno bez ideologické motivace, má protikladný důsledek - přeceňuje kompetenci slovenských občanů ve vztahu k cizím jazykům a opomíjí uznat stupeň vzájemné srozumitelnosti obou jazyků. Zda jsou slovenština a čeština považovány za dva samostatné jazyky, nebo nářečí jednoho stejného jazyka, závisí na tom, jak jsou termíny *nářečí* a *jazyk* interpretovány. Rozlišení mezi oběma pojmy pravděpodobně přesněji odráží kombinaci etnických a regionálních sebestereotypů, založených na dějinách a sociokulturních tradicích než rozdíly čistě jazykové.

Následující kritéria pro klasifikaci jazyků jsou používána podle mezinárodního standardu pro jazykové kódy (ISO 639-3), publikovaného 5. února 2007:

Dvě příbuzné varianty jsou zpravidla považovány za varianty stejného jazyka, pokud mluvčí jedné varianty inherentně rozumí mluvčím varianty druhé (tj. rozumí ji na základě jejich vlastní varianty bez potřeby osvojit si variantu cizí) na funkční úrovni

V těch případech, kdy je mluvená srozumitelnost mezi jednotlivými variantami okrajová, existence společné literatury nebo společné etnolingvistické identity s centrální variantou,

**Tabulka 3: Fonologické rozdíly mezi češtinou a slovenštinou**

| **ČEŠTINA** | | | **SLOVENŠTINA** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Spisovná čeština**<br>Dej mouku ze mlýna na vozík | | | **Spisovná slovenčina**<br>Daj múku z mlyna na vozík. | | | | | |
| **Obecná čeština**<br>Dej mouku ze mlejna na vozejk | | | | | | | | |
| **Česká nářečí**<br>Dej mouku ze mlejna na vozejk | **Středomoravská nářečí (hanáčtina)**<br>Dé móku ze mléna na vozék | **Slezská nářečí** | **Západoslovenská nářečí** | | | **Středoslovenská nářečí** | **Východoslovenská nářečí** | |
| | | **Slezsko-moravské**<br>Daj muku ze mlýna na vozík | **S**<br>Hodz/Daj múku z mlýna na vozík/ vúz. | | | **S**<br>Daj múku z mlyna na vozík. | x | **Střed**<br>Daj muku z mlina na vožik. | **V**<br>Daj muku z mlina na vožik. |
| | | **Východomoravské**<br>Daj múku ze mlýna na vozík | x | x | x | X x x | x | | |
| | | | **Jz**<br>Hodz/ Daj múku ze mlyna na vozík/ do káričky. | x | **Jv**<br>Da múku ze mlyna na vozík. | **J**<br>Daj múku ze mlyna na vozík. | **Jz**<br>Daj múku z mlyna na vozík. | | |

které obě strany rozumí, může být silným ukazatelem toho, že by měly být považovány za varianty stejného jazyka.

V těch případech, které se vyznačují dostatečným množstvím srozumitelnosti mezi jednotlivými variantami umožňujícími komunikaci, může existence být dobře utvořených - přestože rozdílných etnolingvistických identit - silným ukazatelem toho, že by varianty měly být považovány za různé jazyky.[28]

Čeština a slovenština mohou být na základě prvního kritéria považovány za varianty stejného jazyka, neboť mluvčí jednoho národního jazyka inherentně rozumí mluvčím druhého - viz důkazy, a toto rozumění je zřídka, pokud vůbec, získáno pomocí učební výuky. Bylo odhadnuto, že zhruba 80 % obecně používaných lexikálních prvků v češtině a slovenštině je identických nebo snadno rozpoznatelných.[29] Ovšemže srozumitelnost jednotlivých slov a kolokací záleží na různých faktorech, včetně jejich spisovnosti a stylistických a významových funkcí a kontextu jejich užití. Hauser [1980] identifikuje šest „vrstev" ve slovní zásobě: A. vrstvy slov podle příslušnosti k nespisovným útvarům národního jazyka: 1. rozdíly územní (slova obecné češtiny, slova oblastní, slova nářeční), 2. rozdíly sociální (slang, argot); B. vrstvy slov podle slohových příznaků: 1. slova hovorová, 2. slova knižní, 3. odborné názvy, termíny, 4. poetismy; C. vrstvy slov podle časových příznaků: 1. slova zastaralá, 2. slova nová (neologismy); D. vrstva slov expresivních; E. vrstva slov cizích; F. vrstva slov řídkých.[30] Běžně používaná spisovná slova jsou zpravidla dostupnější než regionalismy a dialektismy nebo funkčně a stylisticky omezené výrazy, ale některé hovorové moravismy (jako např. dědina a hody) mají ekvivalenty ve slovenštině. Fonologické rozdíly mezi oběma jazyky obvykle nepředstavují zábranu běžného dorozumívání, a morfologické variace jsou dostatečně pravidelné na to, aby byly snadno asimilovány. Nicméně přestože čeština a slovenština jsou velice blízké ve slovní zásobě, fonologii, struktuře a formě a sdílejí významný objem literatury, nevyznačují se obecnou etnolingvistickou identitou s centrální jazykovou variantou. Z tohoto důvodu, podle třetího kritéria uvedeného výše, by k nim mělo být přistupováno jako k samostatným jazykům spíše než k nářečím jednoho jazyka.

Rozumí se, že žádný pokus o klasifikaci jazyků a nářečí není dost citlivý, aby bral v úvahu všechny faktory ovlivňující vlastní znalosti a postoje ke geneticky příbuzné cizí řeči, ale role etnolingvistické identity, posílené jazykovým zákonodárstvím, může být důležitější než vzájemná srozumitelnost dvou dialektů. Švédové, Norové a Dánové (zvlášť Švédové a Norové) si dobře rozumějí, ale švédština, nórština a dánština jsou uznány za samostatné jazyky, i když nářečí východního Dánska mají mnoho společného s nářečími jižního Švédska, bokmål (populárnější ze dvou oficiálních variant norštiny) je silně ovlivněn spisovnou dánštinou a nynorsk (nebo nová norština) se podobá dialektům západního Švédska.[31] Až na rozpad Jugoslávie v devadesátých letech dvacátého století většina srbských jazykovědců považovala srbochorvatštinu za společný jazyk Srbů, Chorvatů, Bosňáků a Černohorců (sr. československý jazyk), kdežto Chorvati často oponovali pojmu *chorvatskosrbského* jazyka a prosazovali ijekavské nářečí. V nynější době je existence srbštiny a chorvatštiny jako úředních jazyků nezávislých států brána jako samozřejmost prakticky všemi občany bývalé Jugoslávie.[32]

Složitost formulování statutu slovenštiny spočívá v několika propojených faktorech. V první řadě mnoho Čechů vyrůstajících před rokem 1993 stále cítí, že slovenština přispěla podstatným způsobem k pojetí československé národnosti, a tudíž je součástí kolektivní identity (přesto, že se oba národy rozdělily a Slováci mají v posledních letech větší tendenci zdůrazňovat odlišnost svého mateřského jazyka a etnických tradicí). Z historického hlediska existuje mnoho faktů, které spojují oba národy. Slovensko bylo součástí Velkomoravské říše (od roku 833 do začátků 10. století); Čechové ve značné míře přispěli do slovenského jazykového a sociálně ekonomického rozvoje; hlavní slovenské osobnosti jako např. Pavel Jozef Šafárik a Jan Kollár hráli významnou roli v českém národním obrození; čeští a slovenští legionáři bojovali bok po boku v době před založením první republiky v roce 1918, a Češi a Slováci koexistovali ve stejném státě bez větších konfliktů po většinu dvacátého století. Podle dvou průzkumů provedených pro CVVM v listopadu 2006 a prosinci 2007, 34 % Čechů se staví rozhodně proti rozdělení Československa v roce 1993, a 47 % má za to, že rozdělení země nebylo nutné.[33] Skutečnost, že tolik Čechů stále pochybuje o důvodech a legitimnosti rozdělení, je možná nejjednoznačnějším ukazatelem toho, že Slovensko ještě nemůže být považováno za zcela *cizí* zemi v konvenčním smyslu tohoto termínu.

Za druhé, množství Čechů je v blízkém příbuzenském svazku s osobami na Slovensku nebo má jiné osobní kontakty se Slovenskem. Z 1 126 Čechů dotazovaných ve studii „Češi a slovenština", 198 (18 %) prohlásilo, že mají slovenské příbuzné, a 473 (42 %) se zmínilo o slovenských známých, v porovnání s pouhými méně než 13 %, kteří tvrdili, že nemají se Slováky žádné kontakty. Tento silný pocit sprízněnosti je také potvrzen ve výzkumech veřejného mínění, v nichž je Slovensko pravidelně označováno jako oblíbená *cizí* země Čechů a Slováci samotní jako *cizí* národ, kterému Češi dávají přednost.[34] 36 % respondentů v „Postojích" zmiňovalo slovenštinu jako jazyk, k němuž mají nejvíce pozitivní vztah a 11 % ji identifikovalo jako svou druhou volbu jazyka.[35] Více než polovina (51 %) dotázaných ve věkové skupině 45–59 let jmenovala slovenštinu jako jazyk, ke kterému jsou nejvíce citově vázáni, ačkoli toto číslo klesá k 17 % mezi respondenty ve věku 15–29 let. (tabulka 4)

Za třetí, blízkost slovenského lexika, morfologie a fonologie k češtině vedla k tendenci Čechů oslovovat Slováky ve svém vlastním jazyce a naopak. Vzhledem k tomu, že Češi nemusí mluvit slovensky, aby se dorozumívali, většina lidí nikdy nerozvíje aktivní komunikační dovednosti ve slovenštině. Strukturální a genetické podobnosti mezi oběma jazyky jsou nesporné. 95 % ze všech respondentů ve studii „Češi a slovenština" souhlasí s tím, že jsou si „velice blízké" nebo „docela blízké", ovšem ve skutečnosti může pouze relativně nízký počet mluvčích prokázat plnou dvojjazyčnost. Čeští mluvčí zřídka pociťují povinnost přizpůsobit svůj jazyk výrazným způsobem potřebám komunikace se Slováky, a zároveň takovéto přizpůsobení není očekáváno u většiny slovenských mluvčích. Výjimky mohou existovat, když jsou oslovovány malé děti nebo příbuzní, ale i v těchto případech má používání mateřského jazyka tendenci dominovat komunikaci s tím, že ústupky jsou obecně odkázány pouze na oblast lexikálních prvků. Je možné, že neochota dělat chyby je hlavním faktorem v rozhodnutí mluvčích držet se vlastního jazyka, a to zejména v případech, kdy sami rozpoznávají, že jejich závislost na mezijazykové analogii může vyústit v nadměrnou generalizaci,

**Tabulka 4: Ke kterým dvou jazykům máte nejvíce pozitivní a negativní vztahy? [„Postoje"]***

| | Kladné odpovědi | | Záporné odpovědi | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | První jazyk | Druhý jazyk | První jazyk | Druhý jazyk |
| slovenština | 102 (36 %) | 32 (11 %) | 2 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| polština | 10 (4 %) | 18 (6 %) | 2 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| ruština | 6 (2 %) | 27 (10 %) | 21 (7 %) | 14 (5 %) |
| romština | 1 (0.5 %) | | 73 (26 %) | 45 (16 %) |
| angličtina | 57 (20 %) | 36 (13 %) | 5 (2 %) | 3 (1 %) |
| francouzština | 20 (7 %) | 28 (10 %) | 7 (3 %) | 4 (1 %) |
| němčina | 24 (9 %) | 33 (12 %) | 35 (12 %) | 21 (12 %) |
| neevropský jazyk | 1 (0.5 %) | | 46 (16 %) | 26 (9 %) |
| jiný neslovanský evropský jazyk | | 3 (1 %) | 59 (21 %) | 46 (16 %) |

* Tabulka nezahrnuje řadu menších jazyků a nezřetelných odpovědí.

jakou nacházíme v dětské mluvě, a zkomolení druhého jazyka. Ve světle zmíněných faktů bylo nicméně autorovi tohoto článku naznačeno, že se zmíněná situace v současné době mezi Čechy žijícími na Slovensku a Slováky žijícími v české republice pravděpodobně mění, protože více lidí aktivně přechází do jazyka hostitele, což je možná výsledek rostoucího vědomí citlivé povahy národní identity, a také více prozaické praktické touhy nevyčnívat z řady.[36]

Za čtvrté, Češi obzvláště středního věku mají tendenci snižovat dopad toho, že byli vystaveni slovenštině po určitou nepřetržitou dobu, na svou obeznámenost s tímto jazykem. Přesto, že slovenština nebyla nikdy tak prestižní na česky mluvícím území jako čeština na Slovensku, četba ve slovenštině se očekávala za socialistického režimu od žáků ve školách a média byla nucena zaměstnávat slovensky mluvící novináře, komentátory a hlasatele. Češi různých generací stále vzpomínají s náklonností na jedinečné sportovní komentáře Gabo Zelenaje či v pozdější době Karola Poláka a na slovenské televizní hry a slovenské herce v pondělí večer. Autorovi tohoto článku bylo také připomenuto neznámým recenzentem, že před rokem 1989 byly některé knihy k dispozici vzhledem k nerovnoměrným zásahům cenzury pouze ve slovenštině, a že na Slovensku dokonce publikovali polozakázané české a cizí spisovatele. Obyčejní lidé také přicházeli do kontaktu se slovenštinou v době dovolených, prostřednictvím práce, vojenské služby a různých druhů uměleckého vyjádření. Slovenština už není v současné době systematicky prosazována, navzdory svému setrvávajícímu užití v mluvených médiích a nápisech na výrobcích (často vedle češtiny i jiných jazyků). České základní a střední školy nenabízejí žádnou výuku slovenštiny, přestože přibližně 200 000 Slováků (a mnohem více slovensky mluvících Romů) v současnosti žije v České republice a slovenští studenti pravidelně navštěvují české univerzity.[37]

## Některé kvalitativní aspekty česko-slovenského diskurzu

Kvalita česko-slovenské komunikace se různí na základě jejích participantů, kontextu a tématu diskurzu a může zahrnovat podstatné míšení kódů, nicméně je přijatelné ji charakterizovat jako funkčně efektivní. Termín *semikomunikace*, zavedený Einarem Haugenem [1966], byl příhodně aplikován na typ vzájemného rozumění, jež přetrvává mezi českými a slovenskými mluvčími.[38] Čím bližší je kontakt mezi mluvčími a delší doba, kterou Češi a Slováci strávili v zemích jeden druhého, tím větší je jejich tendence k přecházení do jazyka hostitele. Nedostatek potřeby pro takovéto přecházení však znamená, že užití jazyka v tomto případě zůstává otázkou osobní volby a někteří mluvčí nikdy přechod nepodstupují.

Ze 781 respondentů, kteří ve studii „Češi a slovenština" vyjádřili pevné stanovisko k vzájemné schopnosti Čechů a Slováků ovládat jazyky toho druhého, 109 (14 %) cítilo, že Češi mluví slovensky lépe, 230 (30 %) prohlásilo, že Slováci mluví česky lépe, a 442 (57 %) mělo za to, že jsou jejich jazykové kompetence zhruba srovnatelné. Na základě procentuálního zastoupení populace v obou zemích je pravděpodobné, že existuje více Slováků, kteří mluví lépe česky než Čechů slovensky, ať už je to způsobeno jejich větším vystavením se češtině prostřednictvím života v České republice, hromadných sdělovacích prostředků, umění nebo rozličných psaných textů. Nicméně rozdíly nemusejí být tak velké, a mohou být zastřeny tendencí mnohých mluvčích komunikovat ve svém rodném jazyce, pokud od nich není jazykový přechod striktně vyžadován.

Přes všechny zábrany osvojování slovenského jazyka zůstává slovenština s velkým náskokem *cizím* jazykem, který je Čechům nejznámější. Podle výsledků v „Postojích", 21 % dotazovaných rozumí i hovoří slovensky velmi dobře, 40 % rozumí i hovoří, ale ne moc dobře, a 29 % dobře rozumí a hovoří jen s obtížemi. Slovenština je jediným *cizím* jazykem, kdy množství mluvčích s dobrou aktivní znalostí přesahuje 8 % v jakékoli věkové skupině či 7 % bez rozdílu věkových skupin. (tabulka 5)

Procentuální zastoupení mluvčích s aktivní znalostí slovenštiny vzrostl z 12 % v Tejnorově průzkumu z roku 1971 na 61 % v roce 2005 (v porovnání s nárůstem znalostí angličtiny ze 4 % na 22 %). Více než 90 % respondentů v „Postojích" tvrdilo, že mají alespoň pasivní znalost slovenštiny, v porovnání s 25 % v případě dalších slovanských jazyků (obzvláště polštiny). (tabulka 6)

Češi ve věkové skupině 30 až 59 jsou nejvíce zběhlí ve slovenštině, zatímco mluvčí ve věku do 20 let a více než 60 let mají nejnižší schopnost komunikace ve slovenském jazyce. Velké množství českých mluvčích kolem věku 60 let, kteří tvrdí, že mají pouze pasivní znalost slovenštiny - 36 % -, odráží status slovenštiny na česky mluvícím území před rokem 1968,

**Tabulka 5: Jak dobře znáte cizí jazyk? (%) [„Postoje"]**

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. | g. | h. | i. | j. | k. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozumí i hovoří velmi dobře = velmi dobrá aktivní znalost | 21 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 4 | | | | 4 | |
| Rozumí i hovoří, ale ne moc dobře = dost dobrá aktivní znalost | 40 | 16 | 24 | 21 | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | 6 | |
| Dobře rozumí, hovoří jen s obtížemi = pasivní znalost | 29 | 15 | 33 | 23 | 1 | | 2 | 4 | | 15 | 1 |
| Neovládá | 10 | 63 | 38 | 49 | 98 | 92 | 97 | 95 | 97 | 74 | 98 |
| Neví | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 |

Pozn.: a = slovenština, b. = angličtina, c. = ruština, d. = němčina, e. = romština, f. = francouzština, g. = španělština, h. = italština, i. = jiný neslovanský evrospský jazyk, j. = jiný slovanský jazyk, k. = jiný neevropský jazyk.

**Tabulka 6: Jak dobře znáte cizí jazyky? (%)**

| | Tejnor | | | Dickins | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jazyk | Aktivní znalost | Pasivní/aktivní znalost | Pasivní znalost | Aktivní znalost | Pasivní/aktivní znalost | Pasivní znalost |
| slovenština | 12 | 67 | 55 | 61 | 90 | 29 |
| ruština | 21 | 51 | 30 | 29 | 62 | 33 |
| němčina | 17 | 46 | 29 | 28 | 51 | 23 |
| angličtina | 4 | 11 | 7 | 22 | 60 | 15 |
| francouzština | 2 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| jiné jazyky (jiný slovanský jazyk) | 4 | 8 | 4 | 13 (10) | 35 (25) | 23 (15) |

zatímco pokles ve znalosti u mladší generace je možné přímo přisoudit postkomunistickému rozdělení Československa. Pouhých 10 % respondentů ve věkové skupině 15-19 let tvrdilo, že plynule hovoří slovensky, zatímco 31 % prohlásilo (víceméně nepravděpodobně), že neznají slovenštinu vůbec. Méně než polovina nejmladších dotázaných (41 %) aktivně ovládá slovenštinu, v porovnání s více než 74 % mezi 45-59 letými. (graf 1)

Více než dvě třetiny (75 %) dotázaných ve studii „Češi a slovenština" (zahrnujících 66 % věkové skupiny 15-29 let) pociťovalo, že mladší generace jako celek rozumí slovenštině méně dobře než jejich předchůdci před deseti lety, zatímco pouhé 1 % trvá na tom, že došlo ke zlepšení v rozumění. Potřeba zvrátit tento pokles je nyní všeobecně uznávaná. Několik vzdělávacích aktivit bylo uskutečněno v malém měřítku za účelem ustavení bližších kontaktů mezi českými a slovenskými dětmi školního věku. Tyto aktivity zahrnují například projekt ve Zlíně, jež je zčásti dotovaný Evropskou unií.[39] Přesto zde není výrazná shoda v tom, že by měla být slovenština uvedena do učebních osnov základních škol. Pouze 30 % dotázaných ve studii „Češi a slovenština" se domnívalo, že by se čeští školáci pravděpodobně či rozhodně měli učit slovensky, což je v porovnání s 53 % (zahrnujícími 57 % z 15-29 letých), kteří tuto potřebu popírali.

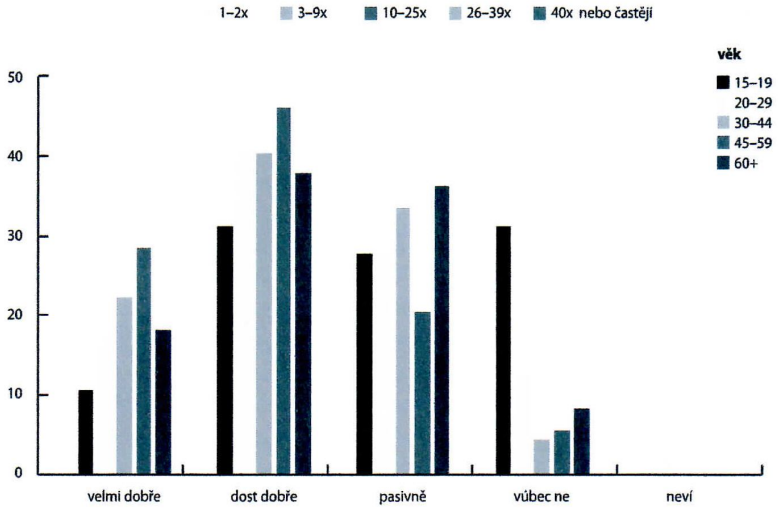
Občasný pasivní kontakt s mluveným jazykem sám o sobě, i v případě jazyků tak blízkých jako čeština a slovenština nejeví dostatečný k tomu, aby překonal dojem komunikační bariéry vyvstávající z užívání rozdílných morfofonémických kódů. Jak bylo zdůrazněno Mirou Nábělkovou [2007]:

„Jazyková blízkost se nejeví jako schopná zaručit automaticky pociťovanou otevřenost ve vztahu k jinému jazyku. Z tohoto hlediska pociťovaný bilingvismus, který byl považovaný za do té míry přirozený, že byl dokonce pokládaný za bilingvismus uživateli jazyka na česko-slovenském území [...], se nyní zdá být považován za specifickou schopnost zásluhou jeho současné (buď skutečné, předpokládané, nebo prohlášené) absence na české straně."

Pokles v rozumění slovenskému jazyku se nicméně netýká pouze skupiny mluvčích ve věku do 30 let. Pouhých 15 % všech dotázaných v projektu „Češi a slovenština" se domnívá, že rozumějí slovenštině lépe než před deseti lety, zatímco 44 % tvrdí, že je jejich rozumění horší. 52 % mezi 60 a více letými prohlásilo, že nyní zažívají větší potíže, v porovnání se zanedbatelnými 7 % dotázaných této skupiny, kteří měli pocit, že se jejich dorozumívací kompetence zlepšila. Dokonce i věkové skupiny 30-44 let a 45-59 let se shodovaly v tom, že nerozumí slovenštině tak dobře jako před desetiletím. Mluvčí ve věku 20-29 let jsou více rovnoměrně rozděleni v odpovědích na tuto otázku, s tím, že téměř 28 % poukázalo na zlepšení svého rozumění a 38 % zaznamenalo úpadek. Je nevyhnutelné, že 15-19 letí obecně nyní rozumějí slovenštině lépe, protože byli před deseti lety malými dětmi. (tabulka 7)

Stejný pokles je možné pozorovat u všech věkových skupin také v případě aktivní schopnosti používat slovenštinu. Když byli dotázáni, zda mluví slovensky více nebo méně často než před deseti lety, necelých 5 % respondentů prohlásilo, že více, zatímco 30 % se přiklonilo ke druhé možnosti. Méně lidí – 22 % – tvrdilo, že mluví slovensky hůře než dříve, a pouhých necelých 7 % trvalo na tom, že mluví lépe. Pokud však vyloučíme 15-29 leté (z důvodu jejich příliš nízkého věku před deseti lety), toto číslo se sníží přibližně na 3 %. Je podstatné, že více než polovina dotázaných ve své odpovědi na obě otázky prohlásila, že nikdy slovensky nemluvili, a tím zpochybnili předpoklad, že většina lidí po roce 1968 dosáhla určitého stupně bilingvismu.[41] (tabulka 8, 9)

**Graf 1: Jak dobře znáte cizí jazyky? – Slovenština [„Postoje"]**




**Tabulka 7: Rozumíte slovenštině lépe nebo hůře než před deseti lety? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-19 | 20-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozhodně lépe | 48 (4 %) | 11 % | 8 % | 4 % | 1 % | 2 % |
| Spíše lépe | 119 (11 %) | 20 % | 20 % | 8 % | 10 % | 5 % |
| Rozhodně hůře | 375 (33 %) | 11 % | 27 % | 38 % | 35 % | 39 % |
| Spíše hůře | 119 (11 %) | 7 % | 11 % | 10 % | 10 % | 13 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 312 (28 %) | 23 % | 18 % | 28 % | 32 % | 31 % |
| Neví | 150 (13 %) | 28 % | 16 % | 12 % | 12 % | 10 % |

**Tabulka 8: Mluvíte slovensky častěji nebo méně často než před deseti lety? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozhodně častěji | 21 (2 %) | 5 % | 1 % | 1 % | 2 % |
| Spíše častěji | 28 (3 %) | 5 % | 2 % | 2 % | 1 % |
| Spíše méně často | 142 (13 %) | 7 % | 14 % | 13 % | 16 % |
| Rozhodně méně často | 193 (17 %) | 12 % | 19 % | 19 % | 19 % |
| Nikdy slovensky nemluvil(a) | 691 (61 %) | 69 % | 60 % | 59 % | 58 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 24 (2 %) | 2 % | 1 % | 4 % | 2 % |
| Neví | 24 (2 %) | 2 % | 3 % | 2 % | 1 % |

**Tabulka 9: Mluvíte slovensky lépe nebo hůře než před deseti lety ? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozhodně lépe | 21 (2 %) | 3 % | 2 % | | 2 % |
| Spíše lépe | 53 (5 %) | 9 % | 5 % | 4 % | 1 % |
| Rozhodně hůře | 158 (14 %) | 7 % | 14 % | 18 % | 17 % |
| Spíše hůře | 89 (8 %) | 7 % | 9 % | 7 % | 10 % |
| Nikdy slovensky nemluvil(a) | 611 (54 %) | 62 % | 53 % | 52 % | 50 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 112 (10 %) | 5 % | 10 % | 12 % | 14 % |
| Neví | 79 (7 %) | 7 % | 7 % | 7 % | 6 % |

**Tabulka 10: Mluvíte doma s rodinou jazyky jinými než čeština? [„Postoje"]**

| | První jazyk | Druhý jazyk | Třetí jazyk |
|---|---|---|---|
| slovenština | 3 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| polština | 6 (2 %) | 4 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| romština | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| jiný slovanský jazyk | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| angličtina | 10 (4 %) | 2 (1 %) | |
| němčina | 11 (4 %) | 6 (2 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| jiný neslovanský evrospský jazyk | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | |
| jako celek | 33 (12 %) | 16 (6 %) | 5 (2 %) |

## Některé kontextuální aspekty česko-slovenského diskurzu

Ačkoli Slovensko zůstává nadále druhým nejpopulárnějším turistickým cílem vedle Chorvatska a po Německu druhým největším obchodním partnerem, Dickinsova data potvrzují, že většina Čechů má ke slovenskému jazyku omezený přístup.[42] Méně než 8 % respondentů v „Postojích" prohlásilo, že mluví nebo píší ve slovenštině denně nebo týdně, a ještě méně - 5 % - připustilo, že používají slovenštinu každý týden při práci. Pouhá 4 % dotázaných strávila měsíc a více na Slovensku - stejný poměr jako v Británii, a značně méně než 7 % v Německu. Zatímco polovina dotázaných sleduje nebo poslouchá média vysílající v cizím jazyce, pouze 18 % si naladí slovenské stanice jednou týdně či častěji (v porovnání s 19 % v případě němčiny). Velmi malé množství Čechů tvrdí, že mluví slovensky doma (v České republice) s ostatními členy rodiny - 2 % v „Postojích" z celkových 13 % všech respondentů, kteří prohlásili, že používají alespoň jeden cizí jazyk ve svém vlastním domově. Je samozřejmě možné, že zmíněné množství 2 % nezobrazuje skutečnou míru vlivu slovenštiny na každodenní užívání jazyka v domácnostech s aspoň jedním slovensky mluvícím dospělým, ovšem na druhé straně vypovídá o vysokém stupni generační jazykové změny v rodinách se slovenskými kořeny. (tabulka 10)

Podle výzkumu v projektu „Češi a slovenština" 63 % Čechů se slovenskými příbuznými se z velké míry drží vlastního jazyka, zatímco 8 % mluví převážně slovensky a více než čtvrtina je buď charakterizovaná takzvaným míšením kódů (code-mixing), anebo mění oba jazyky na základě okolností. Množství mluvčích držících se primárně češtiny klesá ve věkové skupině 45-59 let pod 46 %, avšak stoupá k 75 % u 15-29 letých. Češi ve věku mezi 45 a 59 let mají největší znalost slovenštiny, a také Slováci ve stejné věkové skupině mají nejvíce bezproblémový vztah k češtině, což je doloženo skutečností, že pouze zhruba polovina - 54 % - obecně používá slovenštinu, když mluví s českými příbuznými. 68 % respondentů celkově prohlásilo, že jejich slovenští příbuzní jim zpravidla odpovídají ve slovenštině, v porovnání s 10 % mluvčích, jejichž příbuzní reagují výhradně v češtině. (tabulka 11, 12)

Obecně řečeno, Češi dělají méně jazykových ústupků vůči slovenským známým než slovenským příbuzným, s tím, že 73 % v tomto případě hovoří výhradně česky. Není překvapující, že slovenští známí (kteří v mnoha případech žijí v České republice) určitým způsobem více inklinují k používání češtiny, ačkoli podle tvrzení respondentů 66 % z nich upřednostňuje odpovídat jim ve slovenštině. Nejsou zde žádné významné rozdíly v užití co se týče pohlaví, zeměpisné polohy či dokonce vzdělání, ovšem skupina 60 a více letých je nejvíce náchylná k přecházení do slovenštiny, možná proto, že pociťují větší potřebu činit tak ve vztahu k slovenským účastníkům rozhovoru. (tabulka 13)

Podobný obrázek vyvstane při rozhovoru se slovenskými cizinci kdekoli mimo Slovensko. V tomto případě 73 % Čechů dává přednost používání vlastního jazyka, a pouhá 2 % se vyznačují přecházením do slovenštiny. Mezi 788 respondenty (70 % z celkového počtu), kteří občas tráví čas na Slovensku, 593 (75 %) mluví hlavně česky, když tam jsou, zatímco 169 (21 %) směšuje oba jazyky nebo mezi nimi kolísá, a 22 (3 %) se rozhodne převážně pro slovenštinu. Úroveň vzdělání lidí prozrazuje více o pravděpodobnosti jejich rozhodnutí pro cestování na Slovensko než o jejich jazykové volbě - 47 % nejméně vzdělaných dotázaných tvrdí, že na Slovensko nikdy nejezdí. U vysokoškolsky vzdělaných lidí je nejvíce pravděpodobné, že navštíví Slovensko, ovšem 93 ze 122 (76 %) u těch, kteří tak učiní, mluví převážně česky, v porovnání s 219 z 305 (72 %) mluvčích s neúplným středním vzděláním. Věk je tu znovu nejdůležitějším faktorem určujícím jazykové užití. 83 % z 201 dotázaných ve věku 15-19 let, kteří cestují na Slovensko tam obecně mluví česky, což je v kontrastu se 72 % u mluvčích ve věkové skupině 45-59 let. (tabulka 14)

## Závěr

Spisovná čeština a slovenština vedle sebe existují po dlouhou dobu bez zjevné antipatie mezi jejich mluvčími, ovšem za předpokladu, že čeština soustavně uplatňovala a dodnes uplatňuje větší vliv na slovenštinu než naopak. Zatímco Češi vždy považovali nadřazenost svého jazyka za samozřejmost, Slováci se pokoušeli ve stále větší míře charakterizovat svůj mateřský jazyk v protikladu ke spisovné češtině. Nestejnoměrný vztah mezi oběma jazyky pravděpodobně měl svůj smysl a byl užitečný v období hrozby maďarizace, avšak později dosáhl bodu logické absurdity se zavedením pojmu *československština* (společný název jazyka národa československého) v období první republiky. Prosazování *československštiny* implicitně předpokládalo, že čeština bude působit jako obecný jazyk neboli *Dachsprache* pokrývající jak území Čechů, tak Slováků[43], zatímco Slováci si přisvojí určitý *přechodný jazyk* (interlangua-

**Tabulka 11: Jak mluvíte se slovenskými příbuznými [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 124 (63 %) | 33 (75 %) | 36 (74 %) | 21 (46 %) | 34 (58 %) |
| Hlavně slovensky | 16 (8 %) | 21 (5 %) | 2 (4 %) | 3 (7 %) | 9 (15 %) |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 34 (17 %) | 4 (9 %) | 6 (12 %) | 14 (30 %) | 10 (17 %) |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 20 (10 %) | 4 (9 %) | 3 (6 %) | 7 (15 %) | 6 (10 %) |
| Jiná odpověď | 4 (2 %) | 1 (2 %) | 2 (4 %) | 1 (2 %) | |

**Tabulka 12: Jak vaši slovenští příbuzní odpovídají? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29* | 30-44* | 45-59* | 60+* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 20 (10 %) | 7 (16 %) | 3 (6 %) | 5 (11 %) | 5 (8 %) |
| Hlavně slovensky | 130 (66 %) | 25 (57 %) | 40 (82 %) | 25 (54 %) | 40 (68 %) |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 26 (13 %) | 7 (16 %) | 2 (4 %) | 9 (20 %) | 8 (14 %) |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 18 (9 %) | 4 (9 %) | 2 (4 %) | 6 (13 %) | 6 (10 %) |
| Jiná odpověď | 4 (2 %) | 1 (23 %) | 2 (4 %) | 1 (2 %) | |

* Věk se zde vztahuje na české respondenty, ne na jejich příbuzné.

**Tabulka 13 : Jak mluvíte se slovenskými známými, a jak vám oni odpovídají? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Jak mluví se slovenskými příbuznými | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ | Jak mluví slovenští příbuzní |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 346 (73 %) | 78 % | 80 % | 71 % | 64% | 31 (7 %) |
| Hlavně slovensky | 14 (3 %) | 2 % | 1 % | 1 % | 7% | 317 (67 %) |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 61 (13 %) | 8 % | 10 % | 18 % | 16% | 67 (14 %) |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 46 (10 %) | 11 % | 8 % | 9 % | 12% | 55 (12 %) |
| Jiná odpověď | 5 (1 %) | 1 % | 1 % | 1 % | 1% | 2 (0.5 %) |

**Tabulka 14: Jak mluvíte s ostatními Slováky? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Mluví na Slovensku se Slováky | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ | a. | b. | c. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 591 (53%) | 58 % | 56 % | 49 % | 47 % | 39 % | 50 % | 62 % | 65 % |
| Hlavně slovensky | 22 (2%) | 0.7 % | 1 % | 2 % | 5 % | 2 % | 2 % | 2 % | 3 % |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 85 (8%) | 4.5 % | 8 % | 9 % | 9 % | 7 % | 8 % | 8 % | 8 % |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 84 (7%) | 6 % | 7 % | 9 % | 8 % | 5 % | 9 % | 6 % | 10 % |
| Nejezdí na Slovensko | 337 (30%) | 30 % | 27 % | 31 % | 31 % | 47 % | 31 % | 22 % | 14 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 1 (0%) | | | | | | | | |
| Neví | 3 (0.5%) | 1 % | 0.5 % | | | 0.5 % | | 0.5 % | |

Pozn.: a. (Neúplné) základní, b. Střední bez maturity, c. Střední s maturitou, d. VOŠ, Bakalářské a VŠ .

ge), který by činil podstatně více ústupků spisovné češtině než bylo obecně přijatelné pro slovensky mluvící populaci. Ačkoli je třeba na podobné plány nahlížet v kontextu role Čechů při restrukturalizačních procesech na Slovensku v meziválečné době a také z pragmatických geopolitických ohledů (zejména snahy představit vnějšímu světu jednotné vzezření), jejich důsledkem na Slovensku bylo nevyhnutelně posílení představy kuturní a jazykové podřízenosti. Slovenština byla Čechy považována za jazyk postrádající svou autonomii (v podstatě české nářečí) ve všech případech vztahujících se ke státním záležitostem. Ačkoli je nyní slovenština v České a Slovenské republice všeobecně uznávána jako autonomní, plně vyvinutý jazyk (neboli *Ausbausprache*) jak ve smyslu svých sociálních funkcí, tak svého tvarosloví, mají Slováci obvykle větší přístup k češtině než naopak. Řada lexikálních a jiných jazykových prvků přímo přičtených vlivu češtiny se výrazně nesnížily ani po rozpadu Československa 1. ledna 1993.

Mezi koncem šedesátých let minulého století a začátkem let devadesátých existovala tendence zveličovat rozsah toho, jakým způsobem sdílené rysy češtiny a slovenštiny v podstatě zaručovaly funkční bilingvismus, a zároveň zmírňovat roli pravidelného vystavení lidí jazyku a kultuře svých sousedů.

Zdá se pravděpodobné, že někteří čeští mluvčí vyššího věku mají nyní nadsazený názor na stupeň své dřívější aktivní komunikační kompetence ve slovenštině, nicméně se nemýlí v představě, že došlo k všeobecnému úpadku znalosti slovenštiny během posledních deseti let. Postkomunistická generace (jejíž kontakt se slovenštinou se různí na základě osobních okolností) je možná více závislá na kontextu při sémantické disambiguaci, nicméně její schopnosti chápání jsou téměř jistě lepší, než by si byla ochotná připustit. Blízkost východomoravských nářečí k západoslovenským nářečím, spojená s tendencí spisovné slovenštiny klonit se více k normám stanoveným na západě země než k těm na východě, zaručuje to, že spisovný jazyk zůstává široce srozumitelný pro všechny české mluvčí s možnou výjimkou velmi malých dětí. Neochota mluvit slovensky u Čechů všech věkových kategorií v sobě obsahuje hlubší psycholingvistickou úroveň, která odráží jejich představu, že mohou komunikovat efektivněji a v některých případech autoritativněji, pokud se budou držet svého vlastního jazyka. I ti čeští mluvčí, kteří mají slovenské příbuzné, jsou více nakloněni zvolit si v komunikaci mateřský jazyk raději než přejít do slovenštiny.

Výzkum analyzovaný v tomto článku poskytl statistickou bázi pro zdůvodnění řady obecných předpokladů o česko-slovenských jazykových vztazích (například toho, že velmi málo Čechů mluví slovensky i v případech, kdy odcestují na Slovensko, nebo že Češi zůstávají nakloněni Slovákům a jejich jazyku). Důležitější je možná to, že také dále osvětlil složitost charakterizace statutu dvou blízce příbuzných kontaktních jazyků, dříve mluvených členy původní populace stejného státu (od roku 1918 do 1938 a od 1945 do 1992), kde se jeden jazyk po desetiletí těšil neúměrné prestiži. Nejdůležitějším závěrem vycházejícím z této studie je to, že více než polovina největší *etnické* skupiny v České republice - lidí žijících v Čechách (na rozdíl od Moravanů) - považuje rozdíly mezi východomoravskými nářečími a spisovnou češtinou za větší než rozdíly mezi východomoravskými nářečími a spisovnou slovenštinou. Fakt, že mluva v částech Moravského Slezska vzdáleného 50 kilometrů od slovenských hranic je považována za nejbližší morfologii psané češtiny naznačuje, jak relativní shodu mezi spisovnou češtinou a spisovnou slovenštinou, tak dosah rozdílů existujících mezi spisovnou češtinou a obecnou češtinou.

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Tom Dickins vystudoval Leedskou univerzitu (specializace na ruský jazyk a literaturu a francouzský jazyk a literaturu). V roce 1983 získal na téže univerzitě titul magistra v oboru české literatury. Od roku 1990 učí ruštinu a obecnou lingvistiku na univerzitě ve Wolverhamptonu. Zajímá se zejména o lexikologii, sociolingvistiku, jazykový purismus, přejímání cizích slov, jazykový a politický diskurz. Většina jeho publikací se zabývá jazykovými variacemi a změnami v češtině. Dále Tom Dickins publikoval učební materiály, příkladem může být učebnice ruštiny pro dospělé začátečníky, kterou vytvořil spolu s kolegyní Irinou Mooreovou.

Viz: http://www.wlv.ac.uk/Default.aspx?page=12044

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## poznámky

[1] Poděkování náleží Britské akademii, která výzkum dotovala, a Jiřímu Vinopalovi, který formátoval dotazníky a organizoval kolekci dat. „Postoje" byly prováděny na reprezentativním vzorku 283 respondentů ve věku od 15 let, v době od 31. října do 7. listopadu 2005, zatímco „Češi a slovenština" vycházela z reprezentativního vzorku 1126 respondentů stejné věkové skupiny od 3. do 10. září 2007.

[2] Viz [Tejnor 1971] a [Tejnor et al. 1972: 185-201] viz také [Key Data ...], [Europeans and Languages ...] a [Europeans and their Languages...].

[3] Pro všeobecný přehled výzkumu česko-slovenských vztahů, viz např. [Sloboda 2004: 208-220].

[4] [Berger 2003: 19-39].

[5] Původ slovenštiny je možné sledovat do čtrnáctého století, ovšem její užití nebylo standardizované, což znamenalo, že vzdělaní Slováci obecně preferovali poslovenštěnou formu češtiny (pokud nepoužívali latinu).

[6] Viz [Gramma 2006].

[7] [Brandner 2006], viz [Lipowski 2005].

[8] Viz např. *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby: Dodátky k velikému ottovu slovníku.* Br–Dej (1998: 1170-1172).

[9] [Weingart 1932].

[10] Viz [Šmejkalová 2005: 32-47].

[11] Viz [Berger 2003: 24].

[12] [Holý 1996].

[13] [Skilling 1976: 241-244].

[14] Viz [Daftary, Gál 2000].

[15] Slovenská televize (STV) byla ve známém případě v srpnu 2005 nucena uhradit pokutu 20 000 slovenských korun za vysílání českého loutkového pořadu Spejbl a Hurvínek v češtině, což bylo v rozporu s jazykovým zákonem z roku 2005, jež nařizuje, aby byly pořady pro děti do 12 let dabovány do slovenštiny.

[16] [Zeman 1997: 182-186].

[17] [Musilová 2005].

[18] Stojí za povšimnutí, že části západních a jihozápadních Čech (zahrnující město Plzeň a západ od oblasti Prácheňsko) si udržují některé výrazné nářečové rysy.

[19] [Neústupný, Nekvapil 2003: 181-366].

[20] Co se týče dalších informací o slovenských nářečích, viz [Stolc 1968].

[21] „Spisovný jazyk" je definován v Masarykově slovníku naučném, R–S (1932: 852) jako „ta podoba j[azyk]a, kterou jest psána krásná a věd[ecká], které se užívá ve šk[ole] a v úřadech, v projevech tiskových a kterou mluví vzdělané vrstvy v svém styku", ale podrobnější diskuze tohoto tématu by musela brát v úvahu teorie jazykové kultury. Viz [Havránek, Weingart 1932] a [Šlosar, Večerka, Dvořák, Malčík 2009].

[22] Viz [Běličˇ 1972].

[23] Viz např. [Krčmová 1996: 119-128].

[24] Viz např. [Kuldanová 2003]. Používání vokalizovaného (epentetického) ‚e' podléhá změnám ve všech formách češtiny a slovenštiny.

[25] [Bláha 2005: 293-299].

[26] Viz [Europeans and Languages: 3] a [Znalost cizích ...].

[27] Kdyby Eurobarometer nikdy nezjišťoval porozumění mezi „geneticky" blízkými jazyky, nejasný status slovenštiny by nestál za zmínku, ale v průzkumech veřejného mínění Eurobarometer státy samy určují, co je a není *cizí jazyk*.

[28] [Scope of denotation ...].

[29] Viz [Zeman 1997: 1650-1655].

[30] [Hauser 1980: 18-58].

[31] Viz např. [Haugen 1987: 157-179].

[32] Viz např. [Greenberg 2004].

[33] [Škodová 2006] a [Tabery 2008].

[34] Viz např. [Vztah k zahraničí ...] a [Škodová 2009].

[35] Otázka druhé volby poskytla méně přesnou indikaci postojů, protože 28.8 % respondentů nenabídlo žádnou odpověď. Skutečná procenta vyznačená v tabulce jsou podstatně vyšší, protože opomíjejí ty, kteří neodpověděli.

[36] Soukromá emailová korespondence s Miriam Margalovou, vycházející z přispívání do SEELANGS: Slavic & East European Languages and Literatures list, <SEELANGS@BAMA.UA.EDU>, 22/07/2008.

[37] Podle sčítání lidu z roku 2001 žilo v České republice 193 190 Slováků a 239 355 lidí označilo slovenštinu za svůj mateřský jazyk. Jediná slovenská škola v Karviné byla zrušena v roce 2000. Viz [Štráfeldová 2001].

[38] [Haugen 1966: 922-935], viz [Budovičová 1987: 49-66] a [Budovičová 1988: 45-54].

[39] Viz [Pastuszkova 2007]

[40] [Nábělková 2007: 53-73].

[41] Množství respondentů tvrdících, že slovensky nikdy nemluvili, se snížilo ze 61 % na 54 % v odpovědi na otázku „Mluvíte slovensky lépe nebo hůře než před deseti lety?", avšak to je možné zdůvodnit vzrůstem „Jiných odpovědí" nebo odpovědí „Nevím".

[42] [Dickins 2009].

[43] Viz [Kloss 1967: 29-41].

**The Czechs and the Slovak language**
(English translation of **Češi a slovenština**)

**Abstract:** This study employs a range of up-to-date statistical information, including the findings of two nationwide surveys conducted on the author's behalf, to evaluate current perceptions of Slovak in the Czech Republic. Where appropriate, the results are compared with the evidence of other questionnaires (including Tejnor, 1971).

**Keywords:** Czech, Slovak, *československenština*, *čechoslovakismus*, perceptions, attitudes, bilingualism, semi-communication, dialects

## Introduction

This article uses empirical data to contextualize and summarize the Czechs' attitudes to Slovak and their perceptions of their knowledge of the language. It seeks to shed new light on the changes that have occurred since 1989, and to make a more general contribution to existing scholarship on Czech–Slovak linguistic relations. It also aims to highlight the difficulty of determining the status of two geographically contiguous contact languages whose speakers' identity is defined as much in terms of their shared (especially twentieth-century) political and historical experiences as in terms of their ethnocultural and linguistic differences. Evidence is drawn primarily from two nationwide surveys, conducted on the author's behalf by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění – Sociologický ústav AV ČR): 'Czech speakers' perceptions of lexical borrowings' (hereafter, 'Perceptions') and 'Češi a slovenština' (The Czechs and the Slovak language).[1] The content and methodology of the surveys were informed by a variety of diachronic and synchronic data, most notably a study in 1971 by the Institute for the Research of Public Opinion (the predecessor body to CVVM), and three large European Union surveys.[2]

There has been extensive research on Czech–Slovak linguistic relations by both Czech and Slovak scholars, which has focused on various interrelated themes, including:

(1) the role of language in nation-building, and the asymmetrical history of Czech–

Slovak linguistic relations (e.g. Nábělková: 2007; Berger: 2003; Lipowski: 2005)
(2) the 'Czechoslovak language' (*československý jazyk*) in the First Republic (e.g. Šmejkalová: 2005; Lipowski: 2005)
(3) Czechoslovak language policy and practice after 1948 (e.g. Budovičová: 1974; Zeman: 2007)
(4) the lexical, morphological and syntactic influences of Czech on Slovak, and vice versa (e.g. Dolník: 1992; Musilová: 2005)
(5) the degree of the mutual intelligibility of the two languages (e.g. Budovičová: 1987; Sloboda: 2004)
(6) passive bilingualism in Czech–Slovak contact situations (e.g. Budovičová: 1988; Musilová: 2000)
(7) language assimilation and retention amongst Czechs and Slovaks resident in each other's countries (including borderland communities) (e.g. Hernová & Sokolová: 2000; Ivaňová: 2002)
(8) language choice and code-mixing in Czech–Slovak contact situations (e.g. Hoffmannová & Müllerová: 1993; Sloboda: 2005)
(9) Slovak as a minority language in the Czech Republic, and Czech as a minority language in Slovakia (Neustupný & Nekvapil: 2003; Votruba: 1998)
(10) attitudes to Slovak in the Czech Republic and to Czech in Slovakia (e.g. Budovičová: 1974).[3]

This study touches on a number of these themes in its attempt to synthesize the Czechs' changing relationship to the national idiom of their closest neighbour. The use of quantitative methodology may not permit more detailed consideration of the types of pragmatic negotiation processes which characterize Czech–Slovak discourse at a micro level, but it provides the most accurate indication of current attitudinal trends. Whether ordinary Czechs' interpretation of the accessibility of Slovak stands up to more rigorous academic scrutiny, and whether their perceptions have any bearing on broader social, political and economic relations, are of secondary importance in the context of this essay. It is possible that Berger, in his generally very well-informed study of Czechs and Slovaks living in each other's countries, misses the point when he questions the authority of Tejnor's 1970 survey (referred to merely as an inquiry mentioned by Budovičová) on the grounds that 33% of the informants

claimed not to understand Slovak at all.[4] The significance of Tejnor's finding resides precisely in the tendency of so many Czech speakers at the time to underestimate the linguistic proximity of the two languages. Prior to 1968, Czechs did not generally have much imperative to acquire a good command of Slovak, and may therefore have been more inclined to accentuate those aspects of standard Slovak which differed from their own language (particularly lexical items and morphological features) or to focus on the gulf between Czech and the non-standard variants of Slovak (especially eastern Slovak and Ruthenian dialects, and hybrid forms used by Roma). The fact that nearly one in ten of Dickins' interviewees in 2007 also claimed to have no knowledge whatever of Slovak confirms that not all Czechs automatically regard the two languages as mutually intelligible. It seems likely that the informants in this group were unduly influenced by their inability to communicate actively in Slovak, although some speakers (especially the younger generation) may also have been reflecting on their imperfect receptive skills (nowadays sometimes referred to in Czech linguistic theory as 'perceptive' [*percepční*] skills).

**The background to Czech–Slovak linguistic contacts**

The asymmetrical relationship between Czech and Slovak is rooted in the two peoples' history, and has been well documented by Berger, Nábělková and others. There is no need to repeat all the details here, but a general outline is required in order to contextualize the current situation. Suffice it to say, literary Czech largely shaped the development of Slovak from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth century, as a result of religious and educational contact.[5] The status of Czech was consolidated by the migration of Protestants from Bohemia and Moravia to the Slovak-speaking lands of Upper Hungary, following defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, and some Slovak Protestants persisted with a Slovakized form of literary Czech (*bibličtina*) until the beginning of the last century. When Ľudovít Štúr (who was himself a Protestant in a heavily catholicized land) codified the language in the 1840s, he based it on the central Slovak dialect, but also made some minor concessions to Anton Bernolák's earlier proposed standardization of the western Slovak dialect. The new norm thus represented a sensible, but fairly conservative compromise – it was morphologically and phonologically farther from literary Czech

than *Bernoláština*, but it still bore a significant resemblance to East Moravian dialects, in terms of its orthography, lexis and syntax.

The subsequent banning of Slovak from schools in Upper Hungary from the mid-1870s retarded the economic, cultural and linguistic development of Slovak speakers, with the result that, after 1918, Czechs were required to undertake much of the educational and administrative reorganization in Slovakia. The already well-established asymmetrical relationship between Czech and Slovak was reinforced in the twenties and thirties by the regulation of technical vocabulary, and by artificial convergent and divergent tendencies in respect of Czech, sometimes at the expense of correct usage. Czech linguists sought to direct the development of Slovak towards the norms of Czech by promoting uniformity in the use of specialized terminology, especially science and technology, whereas Slovak linguists expressed a range of sometimes contradictory views.[6] Aleš Brandner (2006), in his review of the book *Konvergence a divergence češtiny a slovenštiny v československém státě* (The Convergence and Divergence of Czech and Slovak in the Czechoslovak State), notes that "Slovak purists advocated cleansing literary Slovak of Czech influences. Their opponents, i.e. those in favour of a rapprochement between Czech and Slovak, split into two camps: one comprising 'Czechoslovakists' (as conceived by the Czech linguist V. Vážný), and a second whose principal representative had a background in Slovak structuralism (Ĺ. Novák)."[7]

The required reorganization by the Czechs of Slovak education and other public institutions was to some extent facilitated by the genetic proximity of Czech and Slovak, but internal linguistic factors played a much less significant role in the success of the restructuring of Slovak society than political decisions taken in Prague. Amongst the most controversial legislative initiatives introduced in the First Republic was the 1920 Language Law, which established 'the Czechoslovak language' (*jazyk československý*) as 'the official state language of the Republic', as spoken by the 'Czechoslovak nation' (*národ československý*), which comprised two branches, Czech and Slovak.[8] The law reflected the views of many influential Czech scholars, but was never unequivocally endorsed by Slovaks. Weingart expressed the opinion of Czechs rather than Slovaks when he wrote in 1918: "Slovak, even though it has achieved the status of a literary language, is not, to put it bluntly, a separate

Slavonic language, but just another, regional form of the joint Czechoslovak language".[9] Attempts to define *československá čeština* (the unified Czechoslovak language) and to introduce it into the curriculum foundered, both because the differences between *spisovná čeština* and *spisovná slovenčina* were too great to be glossed over, and because in practice Slovaks were expected to demonstrate a better command of Czech than vice versa.[10] Although the two varieties of the language enjoyed de jure parity in the First Republic, Czech was de facto the language of central administration and state affairs.[11]

When asked in 'Ceši a slovenština' (September 2007) 'What does the expression *československá čeština* mean?', 549 (49%) of the informants replied that it meant nothing to them, and 167 (15%) said that they did not know. Just 131 (12%) interpreted it 'correctly' as the idea of a single Czechoslovak language, while 253 (22%) selected the option of code-mixing; i.e. Czech and Slovak combined (as typified by the Czechs' use of Slovak names for months when addressing a Slovak in Czech, or by the Slovaks' choice of, say, 'housky' [rolls] and 'borůvky' [blueberries] in preference to 'žemľy' and 'čučoriedky', respectively, when shopping for food in the Czech Republic), and 25 (2%) suggested an alternative explanation altogether. The definitions offered by dictionaries from the First Republic and the Communist era testify to the word's chequered past and barely provide much clarification to the uninitiated. In *Příruční slovník jazyka českého*, A–J (1935–1937: 315), *československá čeština* is defined as both 'an older name for the joint literary language of the Czechs, Moravians, Silesians and Hungarian Slovaks; Czech in a broader sense', with the Slovak variant *československá slovenčina* dismissed as 'less correct', and 'now the joint name of the Czechoslovak language, which has a literary Czech form and a literary Slovak form'. By contrast, in *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, A–G (1989: 252), it is defined as '(formerly in the bourgeois nationalist conception) the single, in reality non-existent, language of the Czechs and Slovaks in its dual literary, Czech and Slovak, form'.

Slightly more of the informants – 450 (40%) – were prepared to select a definition for the cultural-political concept *čechoslovakismus* ('Czechoslovakism'), but while 343 (30% of all those questioned) identified it as 'the idea of the existence of a unified Czechoslovak nation', 100 (9%) interpreted it as 'a word existing in

Czech and Slovak'. Amongst the under-20s, just 17% chose the former definition, whereas this figure rose to 37% in the 45–59 age range. In the First Republic, most Czechs had readily embraced the notion of *čechoslovakismus*, which was underpinned by Masaryk's personal authority, although it was opposed by the Slovak People's Party, as well as by many of the Slovak intelligentsia. The very concept of *čechoslovakismus* was predicated on the covert assumption that the Czechs and their language were to play the leading role in the new state. As Holy (1996) has remarked: "One of the most important functions of the ideology of Czechoslovakism was to hide the fact that the Czechs considered Czechoslovakia their state and to mask their dominant role in it by creating the illusion that it was both Czech and Slovak."[12]

**What do the expressions *československenština* and *čechoslovakismus* mean? (excluding 'no replies')**

**Tabulka 1: Co znamenají výrazy československenština a čechoslovakismus? (s vyloučením „bez odpovědi")**

| Československenština? | Všichni | Čechoslovakismus? | Všichni |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nic | 549 (49%) | Nic | 498 (44%) |
| Spojení slovenštiny s češtinou | 253 (22%) | Slovo existující v češtině i slovenštině | 100 (9%) |
| Představa o existenci jednotného čs. jazyka | 131 (12%) | Představa o existenci jednotného čs. národa | 343 (30%) |
| Jiná odpověď | 25 (2%) | Jiná odpověď | 7 (1%) |
| Neví | 167 (15%) | Neví | 177 (16%) |

**Poznámka:** zaokrouhlená procenta přesně neodpovídají uváděným číslům.

Nic = Nothing; Spojení slovenštiny s češtinou – Combination of Slovak and Czech; Představa o existenci jednotného čs. jazyka – Idea of the existence of a unified Czechoslovak language; Jiná odpověď – Other reply; Slovo existující v češtině i slovenštině – Word existing in both Czech and Slovak; Poznámka: zaokrouhlená procenta přesně neodpovídají uváděným číslům – Note: the rounded-up percentages do not correspond exactly with the figures cited.

Even after the war, when the Košice Programme sought to create a unified state of two equal peoples, and the notion of a Czechoslovak language was abandoned as a bourgeois concept by the Communist authorities, Czech remained the dominant language. Neither the Communists' distinction between *národy* ('nations'; i.e. the Czechs and the Slovaks) and *národnosti* ('nationalities'; 'national' ethnic minorities, such as the Germans and Poles), nor the influx of Slovaks into the Czech-speaking lands, had a major impact on the status of Slovak. In the early 1950s, several leading Slovaks were denounced as 'bourgeois nationalists', irrespective of their political and class credentials, primarily as a way of reinforcing the authority of the Communist Party and seeking a scapegoat for Czechoslovakia's economic failings, but also perhaps to pre-empt Slovak separatist sentiment. The full extent of Slovak discontent

only became clear in the 1960s, when Slovaks began to seek to redefine Czech–Slovak relations, with a view to achieving a greater degree of self-determination. Skilling (1976) has argued that during the Prague Spring, for the Slovak leadership and public alike, democratization was always of secondary importance to the question of equality.[13] The federalization of Czechoslovakia in October 1968 theoretically accorded Slovakia considerably more autonomy, but within the rigid constraints of central authority imposed under normalization. One of the expectations of linguists at this time was that they would accentuate the mutual comprehensibility of the two languages, rather than focusing on those areas of linguistic difference which might pose difficulties.

Since 1990, Slovak has been the only officially recognized state language in Slovakia, although Czech is allowed in contact with the Czech authorities, and minorities are permitted to use their own language with the Slovak authorities where they constitute more than 20% of the population in a given municipality. In 1995 and 1999, the Slovaks adopted two new language laws; the first, based on the 1990 law, sought to reinforce the status of Slovak (vis-à-vis other languages, but Hungarian, in particular), while the latter was introduced mainly to satisfy the minority languages requirements of the European Union.[14] Despite the 1995 legislation, Czech maintains a significant presence in Slovak media, the arts and higher education, and a broad range of literature and other written materials continues to be available in Czech. Slovak is similarly quite widely employed in the Czech Republic, especially on television and radio, and in the workplace and shops, but Czechs cannot generally claim the same exposure to the Slovak language and culture as the Slovaks have to things Czech.[15] The importance of socio-cultural knowledge in the ability to understand a closely related language may not have always been accorded due attention in the context of Czech–Slovak discourse, but it has been clearly illustrated by Zeman (1997) in his comprehension test based on a Slovak TV show.[16]

While Slovak linguistic influence on Czech has not been as extensive as vice versa, there are a number of phrases found in everyday Czech which are directly attributable to Slovak. Musilová (2005) cites several examples of Slovakisms used in the media, which are attested to by other Czechs, including *nad ránem* (= *k ránu*) (by morning), and *být na čele* (= *být v čele*) (to be at the head [of]); *dovolenka* (=

*dovolená*) (holiday) and *rozlučka* (= *rozloučená*) (farewell) (and their derivatives); *vlámat se* (*někam*) (*vloupat se*) (to break in [somewhere]), and *namyšlený* (= *nafoukaný*) (conceited).[17] Yet, such is the proximity of Slovak to Czech that most Slovaks appear largely unaware of the provenance of such expressions. Only 110 (10%) of the informants in 'Ceši a slovenština' acknowledged that they sometimes employ Slovakisms, while 733 (65%) claimed not to use them at all, and a further 229 (20%) said that they use them, but just as a joke. The playfulness which characterizes the attitude of some Czech speakers to the Slovak language is doubtless meant affectionately, but it may also contribute to a more general perception that Czechs do not always pay the linguistic and cultural traditions of their erstwhile partner the respect which is merited.

**Varieties of Czech and Slovak**

Many languages have 'standard' forms which are acquired mainly through the process of education, rather than as a natural unofficial (spoken) medium in the home. In Czech, however, the differences between *spisovná čeština* and its widely spoken form (*běžně mluvený jazyk*) are especially pronounced because the former draws so heavily on much older – late 16th century – antecedents, which were themselves informed by (sometimes obsolete) 14th century usage. The changes that occurred in 15th century Czech likewise account for some of the discrepancies between the standard forms of both Czech and Slovak to this day. Unlike Slovak, Czech has a universally recognized macrodialect, *obecná čeština*, which has its origins in central Bohemia, but is now spoken throughout Bohemia and western Moravia. The use of *obecná čeština* is still spreading, mainly thanks to the spoken media, but the language of television and radio is so diverse and contains so many linguistic varieties that it is not possible to ascertain the extent to which it is influencing the everyday language of Czech speakers in central and eastern Moravia and Silesia.

Largely as a result of the success of *obecná čeština*, traditional dialects have now all but disappeared in Bohemia, although they have thus far maintained a presence in central and eastern Moravia and Silesia.[18] Neustupný and Nekvapil (2003) identify a dichotomy between the standard language and the common language in Bohemia and

western Moravia, and between the standard language and the dialects of the rest of Moravia and Silesia.[19] In Slovakia, dialects continue to play a much more significant role than in the Czech lands, and do not yet face a major challenge from any macrodialects, although the importance of Bratislava inevitably means that its speech has influenced the usage of innumerable Slovaks from outside the capital.

Diagrammatically, the language situation in the Czech Republic and Slovakia can be summarized simplistically as follows:[20]

**Tabulka 2**

| ČESKÁ REPUBLIKA | SLOVENSKO |
|---|---|
| **Kodifikované varianty** | |
| **Spisovná čeština**, zahrnující o něco více kolokviální, nepřesně definovanou mluvenou variantu **hovorová čeština.** | **Spisovná slovenština** |
| **Interdialekty** | |
| **Obecná čeština** | |
| **Tradiční dialekty (a jejich skupiny)** | |
| **České**<br>severovýchodní, střední, jihozápadní, česko-moravské | **Západoslovenské**<br>severní, jihovýchodní, jihozápadní |
| | **Středoslovenské**<br>severní, jižní |
| **Středomoravské (Hanácké)** | |
| **Východomoravské**<br>moravskoslovenské | **Východoslovenské**<br>jihozápadní, střední, východní |
| **Slezské**<br>lašskoslezské (slezskomoravské), slezskopolské, | **Další skupiny**<br>goralské, ukrajinské, maďarská oblast |

ČESKÁ REPUBLIKA = CZECH REPUBLIC; SLOVENSKO = SLOVAKIA; Kodifikované varianty = Codified varieties; Spisovná čeština[21], zahrnující o něco více kolokviální, nepřesně definovanou mluvenou variantu hovorová čeština = Literary Czech, including its slightly more colloquial but ill-defined spoken variant, colloquial Czech; Spisovná slovenčina = Literary Slovak; Interdialekty = Macrodialects; Obecná čeština = Common (colloquial) Czech; Tradiční dialekty (a jejich skupiny) = Traditional dialects (and dialect groups); České = Bohemian; severovýchodní, střední, jihozápadní, česko-moravské = North-eastern, Central, South-western, Czech-Moravian; Západoslovenské = Western Slovak; severní, jihovýchodní, jihozápadní = Northern, South-eastern, South-western; Středomoravské (Hanácké) = Central Moravian (Hanák); Středoslovenské = Central Slovak; severní, jižní = Northern, Southern; Východomoravské = Eastern Moravian; moravskoslovenské = Moravian-Slovak; Východoslovenské = Eastern Slovak; jihozápadní, střední, východní = South-western, Central, Eastern; Slezské = Silesian; lašskoslezské (slezskomoravské), slezskopolské = Lachian-Silesian (Silesian-Moravian), Silesian-Polish; Další skupiny = Other groups; goralské, ukrajinské, maďarská oblast = Goral, Ukrainian, Hungarian area.

Of special interest, in the context of this paper, is eastern Moravia, which consists of three dialectal sub-groups: Valašsko to the north (especially east of Rožnov and Vsetín, and around the town of Valašské Klobouky); Moravské Kopanice in northern Moravské Slovácko (comprising Starý Hrozenkov and surrounding villages), and the rest of Moravské Slovácko to the south-west (i.e. the sub-regions of Horňácko, Dolňácko and Podluží, and the district of Hodonín).[22] In several of the above locations the Moravian dialect at times becomes virtually indistinguishable from the northern group of the western Slovak dialects (as spoken, for example, in the districts of Senice and Skalica in the Trnava region, and Myjava, Nové město nad Váhom, Ilava and Púchov in the Trenčín region).

Amongst the similarities between the eastern Moravian dialects and the most westerly Slovak dialects are the infinitive ending '–ť' for '–t' (in Valašsko and Moravské Kopanice), the distinction between 'l' and 'ł' (in Valašsko, as well as Silesia), the absence of the sound 'ř' (in Moravské Kopanice), the use of the first person plural '–m' for '–me' (in Moravské Slovácko), and the absence of hard '–y' (in Moravské Slovácko). Other notable morphophonemic differences from standard Czech are the use of final '–ú' for '–ou', and the shortening of long vowels in monosyllabic words; for example *bit* (to beat), *dat* (to give) and *nama* (us [*instrumental case, colloquial*]).[23]

The phonological differences between Czech and Slovak can be represented as part of a dialect continuum, using a commonly cited example for Czech, *Dej mouku ze mlýna na vozík* (Put the flour from the mill on the handcart), as follows:[24]

**Phonological differences between Czech and Slovak**

**Tabulka 3: Fonologické rozdíly mezi češtinou a slovenštinou**

| **ČEŠTINA** | | | **SLOVENŠTINA** | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Spisovná čeština**<br>Dej mouku ze mlýna na vozík | | | **Spisovná slovenčina**<br>Daj múku z mlyna na vozík. | | | | | |
| **Obecná čeština**<br>Dej mouku ze mlejna na vozejk | | | | | | | | |
| **Česká nářečí**<br>Dej mouku ze mlejna na vozejk | **Středomoravská nářečí (hanáčtina)**<br>Dé móku ze mléna na vozék | **Slezská nářečí** | **Západoslovenská nářečí** | | | **Středoslovenská nářečí** | | **Východoslovenská nářečí** | | |
| | | **Slezsko-moravské**<br>Daj muku ze mlyna na vozík | **S**<br>Hodz/Daj múku z mlýna na vozík/ vúz. | | | **S**<br>Daj múku z mlyna na vozík. | | x | **Střed**<br>Daj muku z mlīna na vožik. | **V**<br>Daj muku z mlīna na vožik. |
| | | **Východomoravské**<br>Daj múku ze mlýna na vozík | x | x | x | X | x x | x | | |
| | | | **Jz**<br>Hodz/ Daj múku ze mlyna na vozík/ do káričky. | x | **Jv**<br>Da múku ze mlyna na vozík. | **J**<br>Daj múku ze mlyna na vozík. | | **Jz**<br>Daj múku z mlyna na vozík. | | |

Česká nářečí – Bohemian dialects; Středomoravská nářečí (hanáčtina) – Central-Moravian dialects (Hanák); Slezská nářečí – Silesian dialects; Západoslovenská nářečí – Western Slovak dialects; Středoslovenská nářečí – Central Slovak dialects; Východoslovenská nářečí – Eastern Slovak dialects; Slezskomoravské – Silesian-Moravian; S – N(orthern); Střed – Central; V – E(astern); Východomoravské – Eastern Moravian; Jz – S(outh-)w(estern); Jv – S(outh-)e(astern); J – S(outhern).

Moravian dialects form a bridge between Czech and Slovak, which may contribute significantly to Bohemians' understanding of Slovak. Equally important in terms of the development of Czech, as Bláha (2005) has stressed, is the fact that they also prevent *obecná čeština* from becoming a Czech colloquial standard.[25] While most Czechs and Slovaks accept the geopolitical construct of the two nation states,

and readily embrace the notion of language as the principal embodiment of their differences, there is also a widespread recognition of the cultural and linguistic similarities between the Moravians and Slovaks. Of the 589 informants who expressed an opinion in 'Ceši a slovenština', 282 (48%) felt the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech to be greater than those between standard eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak, while just seven more interviewees (49%) considered the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak to be definitely or probably greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech.

In Prague, the south-west, the north-west and the north-east of Bohemia, most people deemed the eastern Moravian dialects to be closer to Slovak than to Czech. In much of Moravia, however, people tended to accentuate the similarities between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech. A clear majority of the interviewees in central-eastern/eastern Moravian and Moravian-Silesian cities such as Kroměříž, Vsetín, Uherské Hradiště, Opava, Frýdek-Místek and Karviná, deemed eastern Moravian dialects to be closer to their national language than to Slovak. In the border town of Hodonín, 14 out of 20 (70%) of those who held a view, said that the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak are either definitely or probably greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech.

The tendency of Bohemians to concede the similarities between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak, and of the central-eastern/eastern Moravians to stress their linguistic ties to the standard form of their mother tongue, is one of the most consistent findings to emerge from the data. It suggests, on the one hand, the extent to which Bohemians differentiate between traditional eastern Moravian dialects and the standard literary language, and on the other, the strength of the desire on the part of people from central-eastern/eastern Moravia to affirm their Czechness. Given the importance of language as a marker of national identity in the Czech Republic, it is perhaps inevitable that eastern Moravians should wish to understate the relative proximity of their speech styles to Slovak, irrespective of their affection for the Slovak people. It is also very much in the interest of Slovak policy makers, both in line with and as a way of influencing public opinion, to promote the linguistic differences between all forms of Czech and standard Slovak.

**Defining the status of Slovak**

A Eurobarometer poll found that 60% of Czechs aged 15 and over were capable of holding a conversation in a foreign language, while, according to other European Union data, 29% could speak two foreign languages.[26] Unfortunately, the poll only cited percentages for the three most widely spoken languages – German (31%), English (24%) and Russian (19%) – and both studies excluded reference to Slovak altogether. Although this omission may allow for greater objectivity in evaluating the success of foreign language instruction, it arguably has the effect of misrepresenting the Czechs' linguistic skills and, more problematically, leaves the status of Slovak undefined.[27] The Slovaks' decision to recognize Czech as a 'foreign' language, which was presumably not without ideological motivation, has the opposite effect – it overstates the language competences of Slovak citizens, and fails to acknowledge the degree of mutual intelligibility of the two tongues. Whether or not Czech and Slovak are regarded as distinct languages or as dialects of the same language inevitably depends on how the terms 'dialect' and 'language' are interpreted. The distinction between the two concepts is probably more a reflection of interrelated ethnic and regional stereotypes, based on historical and sociocultural traditions, than of purely linguistic differences.

According to the international standard for language codes (ISO 639–3), published on 5 February 2007, the following criteria apply to the classification of languages:

> • Two related varieties are normally considered varieties of the same language if speakers of each variety have inherent understanding of the other variety (that is, can understand based on knowledge of their own variety without needing to learn the other variety) at a functional level.
> • Where spoken intelligibility between varieties is marginal, the existence of a common literature or of a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety that both understand can be strong indicators that they should nevertheless be considered varieties of the same language.
> • Where there is enough intelligibility between varieties to enable communication, the existence of well-established distinct ethnolinguistic

identities can be a strong indicator that they should nevertheless be considered to be different languages.[28]

Based on the first criterion, Czech and Slovak may be regarded as varieties of the same language, since, as shown in 'Perceptions', speakers of one national idiom have an inherent understanding of the other, which is rarely, if ever, acquired through classroom instruction. It has been estimated that around 80% of commonly used lexical items in Czech and Slovak are identical or easily recognizable.[29] The comprehensibility of individual words and collocations depends, of course, on various factors, including their 'literariness' (*spisovnost*), their stylistic and semantic functions, and the context in which they are employed. Hauser (1980) identifies six lexical 'layers': A. word classes based on the extent to which terms belong to non-literary usage (words from *obecná čeština*, regionalisms, dialectalisms), 2. social differences (slang, argot); B. word classes according to stylistic indications: 1. colloquialisms, 2. bookish words, 3. technical terms, 4. poetisms; C. word classes according to temporal indications: 1. obsolete words, 2. new words (neologisms); D expressive word classes; E. foreign word classes; F. rare word classes.[30] Commonly used literary expressions are, as a rule, more accessible than regionalisms and dialectalisms or functionally and stylistically limited terms, but some colloquial Moravianisms (such as *dědina* [village] and *hody* [feast]) have equivalents in Slovak. The phonological differences between Czech and Slovak do not generally represent a barrier to comprehension, and the morphological variations are regular enough to be easily assimilated. However, while the two tongues are very close in their vocabulary, phonology, structure and form, and have a considerable body of shared literature, they do not enjoy a common ethnolinguistic identity with a central variety of language. Therefore, according to the third criterion above, they should be treated as discrete languages, rather than as dialects of the same language.

It goes without saying that no attempt to classify languages and dialects is sensitive enough to take into account all the factors influencing individual knowledge of and attitudes to a genetically related foreign language, but the role of ethnolinguistic identity, reinforced by language legislation, may be more important than the mutual comprehensibility of two dialects. The Swedes, Norwegians and

Danes (especially the Swedes and Norwegians) understand each other well, but Swedish, Norwegian and Danish are recognized as separate languages, even though the dialects of eastern Denmark have much in common with the dialects of southern Sweden, bokmål (the more popular of the two official varieties of Norwegian) is heavily influenced by literary Danish, and nynorsk (or new Norwegian) resembles the dialects of western Sweden.[31] Until the break-up of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, most Serbian linguists regarded Serbo-Croat as the united language of Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks and Montenegrins (cf. *československý jazyk*), whereas Croats opposed the notion of the 'Croato-Serbian' language and promoted the ijekav dialect. Nowadays, the existence of Serbian and Croatian as the official languages of independent states is taken for granted by virtually all the citizens of the former Yugoslavia.[32]

The difficulty of defining the status of Slovak is compounded by a number of factors. First, many Czechs brought up before 1993 still feel that Slovak contributed significantly to the notion of 'Czechoslovak' nationhood, and therefore forms part of a collective identity (even if the two peoples have moved apart, and Slovaks have been more inclined to accentuate the distinctness of their mother tongue and ethnic traditions in recent years). Historically, there are many factors which unite the two peoples. Slovakia was part of Great Moravia (from 830 to the early 10th century); the Czechs contributed hugely to Slovak linguistic and socioeconomic development; leading Slovaks, such as Pavel Jozef Šafárik and Jan Kollar, played a major role in the Czech National Revival; Czech and Slovak legionaries fought alongside each other prior to the foundation of the First Republic in 1918, and Czechs and Slovaks coexisted in the same state without major conflict for most of the twentieth century. According to two surveys for CVVM conducted in November 2006 and December 2007, 34% of Czechs still remain actively opposed to the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993, and 47% believe that the division of the country was not necessary.[33] The fact that so many Czechs continue to question the rationale for and legitimacy of the separation is perhaps the clearest indication that Slovakia cannot yet be regarded as an altogether 'foreign' country in the conventional sense of the term.

Second, a large number of Czechs have close kinship ties and other personal connections with Slovakia. Of the 1,126 Czechs interviewed in 'Ceši a slovenština', 198 (17%) said that they have Slovak relatives, and 473 (42%) mentioned having

Slovak acquaintances (*známí*), compared with just 13% who reckon to have no contact with Slovaks. This strong sense of affinity is also confirmed by opinion polls, in which Slovakia is consistently identified as the Czechs' favourite 'foreign' country, and the Slovaks themselves are specified as the Czechs' preferred 'foreign' nation.[34] In 'Perceptions', 36% of the informants cited Slovak as the language to which they relate most positively, and a further 11% identified it as their second choice.[35] Over half (51%) of those in the 45–59 year age range named Slovak as the language for which they feel greatest affection, although this figure declines to 17% amongst the 15–29 year-olds.

**To which two languages do you relate most positively and negatively? ['Perceptions']**

**Tabulka 4: Ke kterým dvou jazykům máte nejvíce pozitivní a negativní vztahy? [„Postoje"]***

| | Kladné odpovědi | | Záporné odpovědi | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | První jazyk | Druhý jazyk | První jazyk | Druhý jazyk |
| slovenština | 102 (36 %) | 32 (11 %) | 2 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| polština | 10 (4 %) | 18 (6 %) | 2 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| ruština | 6 (2 %) | 27 (10 %) | 21 (7 %) | 14 (5 %) |
| romština | 1 (0.5 %) | | 73 (26 %) | 45 (16 %) |
| angličtina | 57 (20 %) | 36 (13 %) | 5 (2 %) | 3 (1 %) |
| francouzština | 20 (7 %) | 28 (10 %) | 7 (3 %) | 4 (1 %) |
| němčina | 24 (9 %) | 33 (12 %) | 35 (12 %) | 21 (12 %) |
| neevropský jazyk | 1 (0.5 %) | | 46 (16 %) | 26 (9 %) |
| jiný neslovanský evropský jazyk | | 3 (1 %) | 59 (21 %) | 46 (16 %) |

* Tabulka nezahrnuje řadu menších jazyků a nezřetelných odpovědí.

Kladné odpovědi – Positive replies; Záporné odpovědi – Negative replies; První jazyk – First language; Druhý jazyk – Second language; slovenština – Slovak; polština – Polish; ruština – Russian; angličtina – English; francouzština – French; němčina – German; neevropský jazyk – non-European language; jiný neslovanský jazyk – other non-Slavonic language; Tabulka nezahrnuje řadu menších jazyků a nezřetelných odpovědí – The table excludes a number of smaller languages and non-committal responses.

Third, the proximity of Slovak lexis, morphology and phonology to Czech has tended to encourage Czechs to address Slovaks in their own language, and vice versa. In view of the fact that Czechs do not need to speak Slovak to make themselves understood, most people never develop active communication skills in Slovak. The structural and genetic similarities between the two languages are indisputable, with 95% of all informants in 'Ceši a slovenština' agreeing that they are "very close" or "quite close", but, in reality, relatively few speakers can claim full bilingualism. Czechs rarely feel it incumbent on themselves to make significant linguistic accommodation when speaking to Slovaks, and nor is such accommodation expected of or by most Slovak speakers. An exception may be made when addressing

small children or relatives, but even in such cases use of the mother tongue tends to predominate, with concessions generally confined to lexical items. The reluctance to make mistakes may be a major factor in speakers' decision to stick to their mother tongue, especially where they recognize that their over-dependence on interlanguage analogy may result in child-like over-generalizations and the bastardization of the other language. However, it has been suggested that the situation may now be changing amongst Czechs resident in Slovakia and Slovaks living in the Czech Republic, with more people actively switching to the host language, perhaps as a result of increasing awareness of the sensitivities of national identity, and because of the rather more mundane practical desire not to stand out.[36]

Fourth, middle-aged Czechs, in particular, may have a tendency to underplay the extent to which their own familiarity with Slovak is the product of exposure over a sustained period. While Slovak may never have enjoyed the same prestige in the Czech-speaking lands as Czech did in Slovakia, under socialism school pupils were expected to read a little in the language, and the broadcast media were required to employ Slovak-speaking journalists, commentators and continuity announcers. Czechs of different generations still remember with great affection the individualistic sports commentaries of Gabo Zelenay and, more recently, Karol Polák, as well as Slovak television dramas and Slovak actors on Monday evenings. The author of this article has also been reminded by an anonymous peer reviewer that before 1989, due to the uneven censorship policies, certain books were available only in Slovak, and some semi-prohibited Czech and foreign writers were even published in Slovakia. Ordinary people also came into contact with Slovak through holidays, work, military service, and various forms of artistic expression. There is no longer a systematic policy to promote Slovak, despite its continued use in the spoken media and in inscriptions on a wide variety of Czech-made products (often alongside Czech and other languages). Czech basic and secondary schools offer no formal instruction in Slovak, even though around 200,000 Slovaks (and many more Slovak-speaking Roma) currently live in the Czech Republic, and Slovak students frequently attend Czech universities.[37]

**Some qualitative aspects of Czech–Slovak discourse**

The quality of Czech–Slovak communication varies according to the participants involved and the context and theme of the discourse, and it may include considerable code-mixing, but it would be fair to characterize it as functionally efficient. Einar Haugen's (1966) term 'semicommunication' has been aptly applied to the kind of mutual understanding that prevails between Czech and Slovak speakers.[38] The closer the contact between speakers and the longer the period Czechs and Slovaks have spent in each other's country, the greater their tendency to switch to the host language. However, the lack of necessity for such a change means that language use remains largely a matter of personal choice, and some speakers never make the transition from one tongue to the other.

Of the 781 informants who expressed a firm view on the respective skills of the Czechs and Slovaks in each other's language in 'Češi a slovenština', 109 (14%) felt that Czechs speak better Slovak, 230 (30%) said that Slovaks speak better Czech, and 442 (57%) thought their language competences roughly comparable. The probability is that, as a percentage of the population of each country, there are more Slovaks who speak better Czech than vice versa, if only by dint of their greater exposure to the language through residency in the Czech Republic, the mass media and the arts, and a variety of written texts. Nevertheless, the differences may not be particularly great, and are blurred by the tendency of many speakers to communicate in their own tongue, unless strictly required to switch languages.

Despite the constraints on Slovak language acquisition, Slovak remains the 'foreign' language best known to Czechs by some margin. According to 'Perceptions', 21% of the interviewees understand and speak [it] very well, 40% understand and speak [it], but not very well, and 29% understand [it] well, but have difficulty speaking [it]. Slovak is the only 'foreign' language where the number of speakers with a good active knowledge exceeds 8% in any age group or 7% across the full age range.

**How well do you know foreign languages? (%) ['Perceptions']**

**Tabulka 5: Jak dobře znáte cizí jazyk? (%) [„Postoje"]**

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. | g. | h. | i. | j. | k. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozumí i hovoří velmi dobře = velmi dobrá aktivní znalost | 21 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 1 | 4 | | | | 4 | |
| Rozumí i hovoří, ale ne moc dobře = dost dobrá aktivní znalost | 40 | 16 | 24 | 21 | | 4 | | 1 | 1 | 6 | |
| Dobře rozumí, hovoří jen s obtížemi = pasivní znalost | 29 | 15 | 33 | 23 | 1 | | 2 | 4 | | 15 | 1 |
| Neovládá | 10 | 63 | 38 | 49 | 98 | 92 | 97 | 95 | 97 | 74 | 98 |
| Neví | | | | | | | 1 | | 2 | 1 | 1 |

Pozn.: a = slovenština, b. = angličtina, c. = ruština, d. = němčina, e. = romština, f. = francouzština, g. = španělština, h. = italština, i. = jiný neslovanský evrospský jazyk, j. = jiný slovanský jazyk, k. = jiný neevropský jazyk.

Rozumí i hovoří velmi dobře = velmi dobrá aktivní znalost – Understands and speaks very well = very good active knowledge; Rozumí i hovoří, ale ne moc dobře = dost dobrá aktivní znalost – Understands and speaks, but not very well = quite good active knowledge; Dobře rozumí, hovoří jen s obtížemi = pasivní znalost – Understands well, but speaks with difficulty = passive knowledge; Neovládá – Doesn't have a knowledge; Neví – Doesn't know; slovenština – Slovak; angličtina – English; ruština – Russian; němčina – German; romština – Romany; francouzština – French; španělština – Spanish; italština – Italian; jiný slovanský jazyk – other Slavonic language; jiný neevropský jazyk – other non-European language.

The percentage of speakers claiming active skills in Slovak rose from 12% in Tejnor's 1971 survey to 61% in 2005 (compared with a rise in English from 4% to 22%). Over 90% of the informants in 'Perceptions' said that they have at least a passive knowledge of Slovak, compared with 24% in the case of other Slavonic languages (especially Polish).

**How well do you know foreign languages? (%)**

**Tabulka 6: Jak dobře znáte cizí jazyky? (%)**

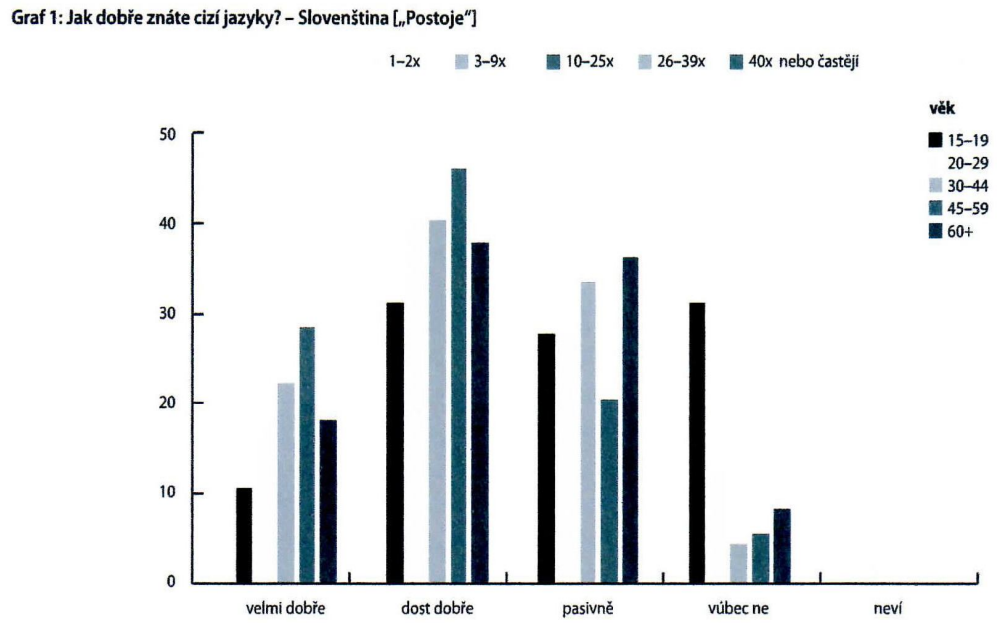
| | Tejnor | | | Dickins | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jazyk | Aktivní znalost | Pasivní/aktivní znalost | Pasivní znalost | Aktivní znalost | Pasivní/aktivní znalost | Pasivní znalost |
| slovenština | 12 | 67 | 55 | 61 | 90 | 29 |
| ruština | 21 | 51 | 30 | 29 | 62 | 33 |
| němčina | 17 | 46 | 29 | 28 | 51 | 23 |
| angličtina | 4 | 11 | 7 | 22 | 60 | 15 |
| francouzština | 2 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| jiné jazyky (jiný slovanský jazyk) | 4 | 8 | 4 | 13 (10) | 35 (25) | 23 (15) |

Jazyk – Language; Aktivní znalost – Active knowledge; Pasivní znalost – Passive knowledge; slovenština – Slovak; ruština – Russian; němčina – German; angličtina – English; francouzština – French; jiné jazyky – other languages (jiný slovanský jazyk – other Slavonic language).

Czechs aged between 30 and 59 have the highest level of proficiency in Slovak, while the under 20 year-olds and over 60 year-olds have the lowest level of competence in the language. The large number of Czechs in their sixties who claim only a passive grasp of Slovak – 36% – reflects the status of Slovak in the Czech-speaking lands until 1968, while the decline in knowledge amongst the younger generation is directly attributable to the post-Communist partition of Czechoslovakia.

Only 10% of the informants in the 15–19 age range claimed fluency in Slovak, while 31% asserted (more than a little implausibly) that they do not know the language at all. Fewer than half the youngest interviewees (41%) have an active command of Slovak, compared with 74% of the 45–59 year-olds.

**How well do you know foreign languages? – Slovak ['Perceptions'] (%)**




věk – age; velmi dobře – very well; dost dobře – quite well; pasivně – passively; vůbec ne – not at all; neví – doesn't know.

Over three-quarters (75%) of those interviewed in 'Ceši a slovenština' (including 66% of the 15–29 age range) felt that the younger generation as a whole understands Slovak less well than their counterparts ten years ago, while just 1% maintains that there has been an improvement in their comprehension. The desirability of addressing this decline is now widely acknowledged, and several small-scale educational initiatives have been implemented in order to establish closer contacts between Czech and Slovak schoolchildren, including a project in Zlín, part-funded by the European Union.[39] However, there is no strong consensus that Slovak should be introduced as part of their school curriculum. Only 30% of the informants in 'Ceši a slovenština' felt that Czech schoolchildren should probably or definitely be taught Slovak, compared with 53% who said that they should not be taught it (including 57% of 15–29 year-olds).

Even in the case of such closely related languages as Czech and Slovak,

occasional passive contact with the spoken language does not seem by itself to be sufficient to overcome the perception of a communication barrier emanating from the use of different morphophonemic codes. As Nábělková (2007) emphasizes:

> Linguistic affinity does not appear to guarantee automatic perceptive openness towards the other language. In this respect, perceptive bilingualism, which had been regarded so natural that it was even considered bilingualism by the language users in the Czech–Slovak territory […], now appears to be considered a specific ability due to its recent (either actual, presupposed, or declared) absence on the Czech side.[40]

The deterioration in Slovak language comprehension is not, however, confined to the under-30s. Just 15% of all the interviewees in 'Ceši a slovenština' consider that they understand Slovak better than ten years ago, while 44% say that their understanding is worse. Amongst the over-60s, 52% claim to be experiencing greater difficulties, compared with a mere 7% who feel that their receptive competence has improved. Even in the 30–44 and 45–59 age ranges, the strong consensus is that they do not understand the language as well as a decade earlier. The 20–29 year-olds are more evenly divided on this question, with 27% identifying an improvement, and 38% recording a deterioration. Inevitably, the 15–19 year-olds generally understand Slovak better now, because they were very young children ten years ago.

**Do you understand Slovak better or worse than ten years ago? ['Ceši a slovenština']**

**Tabulka 7: Rozumíte slovenštině lépe nebo hůře než před deseti lety? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-19 | 20-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozhodně lépe | 48 (4 %) | 11 % | 8 % | 4 % | 1 % | 2 % |
| Spíše lépe | 119 (11 %) | 20 % | 20 % | 8 % | 10 % | 5 % |
| Rozhodně hůře | 375 (33 %) | 11 % | 27 % | 38 % | 35 % | 39 % |
| Spíše hůře | 119 (11 %) | 7 % | 11 % | 10 % | 10 % | 13 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 312 (28 %) | 23 % | 18 % | 28 % | 32 % | 31 % |
| Neví | 150 (13 %) | 28 % | 16 % | 12 % | 12 % | 10 % |

Všichni – All; Rozhodně lépe – Definitely better; Spíše lépe – Probably better; Rozhodně hůře – Definitely worse; Spíše hůře – Probably worse; Jiná odpověď – Other reply; Neví – Doesn't know.

Active skills in Slovak have likewise deteriorated in all age groups. When asked whether they speak more or less Slovak than ten years ago, only 4% of the informants said more, while 30% replied less. Rather fewer people – 22% – said that they speak the language worse than they used to, with 7% maintaining that they speak it better. However, if the 15–29 year-olds are excluded (on the grounds of their age ten years ago) this figure falls to around 3%. Tellingly, in response to both questions, over half the informants said that they have never spoken Slovak, thereby undermining the notion that after 1968 most people achieved at least some degree of active bilingualism.[41]

**Do you speak Slovak more often or less often than ten years ago? ['Češi a slovenština']**

**Tabulka 8: Mluvíte slovensky častěji nebo méně často než před deseti lety? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozhodně častěji | 21 (2 %) | 5 % | 1 % | 1 % | 2 % |
| Spíše častěji | 28 (3 %) | 5 % | 2 % | 2 % | 1 % |
| Spíše méně často | 142 (13 %) | 7 % | 14 % | 13 % | 16 % |
| Rozhodně méně často | 193 (17 %) | 12 % | 19 % | 19 % | 19 % |
| Nikdy slovensky nemluvil(a) | 691 (61 %) | 69 % | 60 % | 59 % | 58 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 24 (2 %) | 2 % | 1 % | 4 % | 2 % |
| Neví | 24 (2 %) | 2 % | 3 % | 2 % | 1 % |

Všichni – All; Rozhodně častěji – Definitely more often; Spíše častěji – Probably more often; Rozhodně méně často – Definitely less often; Spíše méně často – Probably less often; Nikdy slovensky nemluvil(a) – Never spoke Slovak; Jiná odpověď – Other reply; Neví – Doesn't know.

**Do you speak Slovak better or worse than ten years ago? ['Češi a slovenština']**

**Tabulka 9: Mluvíte slovensky lépe nebo hůře než před deseti lety ? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rozhodně lépe | 21 (2 %) | 3 % | 2 % | | 2 % |
| Spíše lépe | 53 (5 %) | 9 % | 5 % | 4 % | 1 % |
| Rozhodně hůře | 158 (14 %) | 7 % | 14 % | 18 % | 17 % |
| Spíše hůře | 89 (8 %) | 7 % | 9 % | 7 % | 10 % |
| Nikdy slovensky nemluvil(a) | 611 (54 %) | 62 % | 53 % | 52 % | 50 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 112 (10 %) | 5 % | 10 % | 12 % | 14 % |
| Neví | 79 (7 %) | 7 % | 7 % | 7 % | 6 % |

Všichni – All; Rozhodně lépe – Definitely better; Spíše lépe – Probably better; Rozhodně hůře – Definitely worse; Spíše hůře – Probably worse; Nikdy slovensky nemluvil(a) – Never spoke Slovak; Jiná odpověď – Other reply; Neví – Doesn't know.

## Some contextual aspects of Czech–Slovak discourse

Although Slovakia remains the second most popular foreign tourist destination after Croatia, and the second biggest trading partner after Germany, Dickins' data confirm that most Czechs have limited recourse to the Slovak language.[42] Only 8% of the

informants in 'Perceptions' said that they talk or write to people in Slovak on a daily or weekly basis, while even fewer – 5% – admitted to using Slovak every week at work. Just 4% of those questioned had spent a month or more in Slovakia – the same percentage as for Britain, and well below the figure of 7% for Germany. While half the interviewees watch or listen to foreign language broadcast media, only 18% tune into Slovak stations once a week or more (compared with 19% in the case of German). Very few Czechs claim to speak Slovak at home (in the Czech Republic) with family members – 2% in 'Perceptions', out of a total of 13% of all informants who assert that they use at least one foreign language in their own home. This figure of 2% may, of course, significantly under-represent the actual amount of Slovak influence on everyday language use in homes where there is at least one Slovak-speaking adult, but may at the same time testify to a large amount of generational language switching in families with Slovak roots.

**Do you speak a language other than Czech at home with your family? ['Perceptions']**

**Tabulka 10: Mluvíte doma s rodinou jazyky jinými než čeština? [„Postoje"]**

| | První jazyk | Druhý jazyk | Třetí jazyk |
|---|---|---|---|
| slovenština | 3 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| polština | 6 (2 %) | 4 (1 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| romština | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| jiný slovanský jazyk | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| angličtina | 10 (4 %) | 2 (1 %) | |
| němčina | 11 (4 %) | 6 (2 %) | 1 (0.5 %) |
| jiný neslovanský evrospský jazyk | 1 (0.5 %) | 1 (0.5 %) | |
| jako celek | 33 (12 %) | 16 (6 %) | 5 (2 %) |

První jazyk – First language; Druhý jazyk – Second language; Třetí jazyk – Third language; slovenština – Slovak; polština – Polish; jiný slovanský jazyk – other Slavonic language; angličtina – English; němčina – German; jiný neslovanský evropský jazyk – other non-Slavonic European language; jako celek – in total.

According to 'Češi a slovenština', 63% of Czechs who have Slovak relatives stick largely to their own language, while 8% speak mainly Slovak, and the language of over a quarter is either characterized by code-mixing or changes depending on circumstances. In the 45–59 age range, the number of speakers who adhere primarily to Czech declines to 46%, but amongst the 15–29 year-olds, it rises to 75%. Not only do Czechs aged between 45 and 59 have the best knowledge of Slovak, but Slovaks in the same age group also feel most at ease with Czech, as evidenced by the fact that only just over half – 54% – generally use Slovak with their Czech relatives. Overall,

68% of the informants said that their Slovak relatives usually respond to them in Slovak, as opposed to 10% whose relatives reply principally in Czech.

**How do you speak to Slovak relatives? ['Češi a slovenština']**

**Tabulka 11: Jak mluvíte se slovenskými příbuznými [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 124 (63 %) | 33 (75 %) | 36 (74 %) | 21 (46 %) | 34 (58 %) |
| Hlavně slovensky | 16 (8 %) | 21 (5 %) | 2 (4 %) | 3 (7 %) | 9 (15 %) |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 34 (17 %) | 4 (9 %) | 6 (12 %) | 14 (30 %) | 10 (17 %) |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 20 (10 %) | 4 (9 %) | 3 (6 %) | 7 (15 %) | 6 (10 %) |
| Jiná odpověď | 4 (2 %) | 1 (2 %) | 2 (4 %) | 1 (2 %) | |

Všichni – All; Hlavně česky – Mainly Czech; Hlavně slovensky – Mainly Slovak; Někdy česky, jindy slovensky – Sometimes Czech, sometimes Slovak; Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou – Switches between Czech and Slovak; Jiná odpověď – Other reply.

**How do your Slovak relatives respond? ['Češi a slovenština']**

**Tabulka 12: Jak vaši slovenští příbuzní odpovídají? [„Češi a slovenština"]**

| | Všichni | 15-29* | 30-44* | 45-59* | 60+* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 20 (10 %) | 7 (16 %) | 3 (6 %) | 5 (11 %) | 5 (8 %) |
| Hlavně slovensky | 130 (66 %) | 25 (57 %) | 40 (82 %) | 25 (54 %) | 40 (68 %) |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 26 (13 %) | 7 (16 %) | 2 (4 %) | 9 (20 %) | 8 (14 %) |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 18 (9 %) | 4 (9 %) | 2 (4 %) | 6 (13 %) | 6 (10 %) |
| Jiná odpověď | 4 (2 %) | 1 (23 %) | 2 (4 %) | 1 (2 %) | |

* Věk se zde vztahuje na české respondenty, ne na jejich příbuzné.

Všichni – All; Hlavně česky – Mainly Czech; Hlavně slovensky – Mainly Slovak; Někdy česky, jindy slovensky – Sometimes Czech, sometimes Slovak; Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou – Switches between Czech and Slovak; Jiná odpověď – Other reply; Věk se zde vztahuje na české respondenty, ne na jejich příbuzné – Refers here to the age of the Czech informants, not to the age of their relatives.

Overall, Czechs make fewer linguistic concessions to Slovak acquaintances than to Slovak relatives, with 73% speaking mainly Czech. Not surprisingly, Slovak acquaintances (who in many cases are resident in the Czech Republic) are somewhat more inclined to use Czech, although the informants claim that 66% still prefer to respond to them in Slovak. There are no significant differences in usage in terms of sex, geography or even education, but the over-60s are the most inclined to switch to Slovak, perhaps because they perceive a greater need to do so with their interlocutors.

**How do you speak to Slovak acquaintances, and how do they reply? [‘Češi a slovenština’]**

Tabulka 13 : Jak mluvíte se slovenskými známými, a jak vám oni odpovídají? [„Češi a slovenština“]

| | Jak mluví se slovenskými příbuznými | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ | Jak mluví slovenští příbuzní |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 346 (73 %) | 78 % | 80 % | 71 % | 64% | 31 (7 %) |
| Hlavně slovensky | 14 (3 %) | 2 % | 1 % | 1 % | 7% | 317 (67 %) |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 61 (13 %) | 8 % | 10 % | 18 % | 16% | 67 (14 %) |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 46 (10 %) | 11 % | 8 % | 9 % | 12% | 55 (12 %) |
| Jiná odpověď | 5 (1 %) | 1 % | 1 % | 1 % | 1% | 2 (0.5 %) |

Všichni – All; Hlavně česky – Mainly Czech; Hlavně slovensky – Mainly Slovak; Někdy česky, jindy slovensky – Sometimes Czech, sometimes Slovak; Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou – Switches between Czech and Slovak; Jiná odpověď – Other reply.

In conversations with Slovak strangers anywhere outside Slovakia, a similar picture emerges, with 73% of Czechs preferring to use their own language, and just 2% generally switching to Slovak. Amongst the 788 informants (70%) who spend time in Slovakia, 593 (75%) speak mainly Czech when they are there, while 169 (21%) mix languages or alternate between the two, and 22 (3%) opt predominantly for Slovak. People’s level of education says more about the likelihood of their travelling to Slovakia than it does about their language choice, with 47% of the least well educated claiming that they never go there. Graduates are the most likely to visit Slovakia, but 93 of the 122 (76% of the total) who do so speak mainly Czech, compared with 219 of the 305 (72%) who have incomplete secondary education. Age is again the most important determinant of language use. Of the 201 interviewees aged 15–19 who travel to Slovakia, 83% generally speak Czech, in contrast to the 72% of 45–59 year-olds who usually employ their own language.

**How do you speak to other Slovaks? [‘Češi a slovenština’]**

Tabulka 14: Jak mluvíte s ostatními Slováky? [„Češi a slovenština“]

| | Mluví na Slovensku se Slováky | 15-29 | 30-44 | 45-59 | 60+ | a. | b. | c. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hlavně česky | 591 (53%) | 58 % | 56 % | 49 % | 47 % | 39 % | 50 % | 62 % | 65 % |
| Hlavně slovensky | 22 (2%) | 0.7 % | 1 % | 2 % | 5 % | 2 % | 2 % | 2 % | 3 % |
| Někdy česky, jindy slovenský | 85 (8%) | 4.5 % | 8 % | 9 % | 9 % | 7 % | 8 % | 8 % | 8 % |
| Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou | 84 (7%) | 6 % | 7 % | 9 % | 8 % | 5 % | 9 % | 6 % | 10 % |
| Nejezdí na Slovensko | 337 (30%) | 30 % | 27 % | 31 % | 31 % | 47 % | 31 % | 22 % | 14 % |
| Jiná odpověď | 1 (0%) | | | | | | | | |
| Neví | 3 (0.5%) | 1 % | 0.5 % | | | 0.5 % | | 0.5 % | |

Pozn.: a. (Neúplné) základní, b. Střední bez maturity, c. Střední s maturitou, d. VOŠ, Bakalářské a VŠ .

Mluví na Slovensku se Slováky – Speaks with Slovaks in Slovakia; Hlavně česky – Mainly Czech; Hlavně slovensky – Mainly Slovak; Někdy česky, jindy slovensky – Sometimes Czech, sometimes Slovak; Přechází mezi češtinou a slovenštinou – Switches between Czech and Slovak; Nejezdí na Slovensko – Doesn’t go to Slovakia; Jiná odpověď – Other reply; Neví – Doesn’t know; Pozn.: a. (Neúplné) základní, b. Střední bez maturity, c. Střední s maturitou, d. VOŠ, Bakalářské a VŠ – Note: a. (Incomplete) basic, b. Secondary (without A level equivalent), c. Secondary (with A level equivalent), d. Tertiary secondary school, Bachelor’s degree and HE.

## Conclusion

The literary Czech and Slovak languages have coexisted for a long time without much overt antipathy between their speakers, notwithstanding the fact Czech has consistently exerted a greater influence, and still continues to exert a greater influence, on Slovak than vice versa. Whereas the Czechs have always taken the supremacy of their language as axiomatic, the Slovaks have increasingly sought to define their mother tongue in opposition to the Czech literary language. The asymmetrical relationship between the languages made sense and served a purpose while the threat of Magyarization persisted, but it reached a point of logical absurdity with the introduction of *československenština* in the First Republic. Implicit in the promotion of *československenština* was the assumption that Czech would function as the umbrella language or *Dachsprache* for both the Czechs and the Slovaks,[43] while the Slovaks would adopt a kind of 'interlanguage', which would make significantly greater concessions to literary Czech than were generally acceptable to the Slovak-speaking population. Although the policy has to be seen both in the context of the Czechs' role in restructuring Slovakia in the interwar period and pragmatic geopolitical considerations (especially the desire to present a united front to the outside world), its effect in Slovakia was inevitably to reinforce the impression of cultural and linguistic subordination. Slovak was regarded by the Czechs as a kind of heteronomous language (effectively a dialect of Czech) in all matters relating to affairs of the state. While Slovak is now universally recognized in the Czech and Slovak Republics to be an autonomous, fully-fledged language (or *Ausbausprache*), both in terms of its social functions and its structural characteristics, Slovaks usually still have greater recourse to Czech than vice versa. The range of lexical items and other linguistic properties directly attributable to Czech has not diminished significantly as a result of the break-up of Czechoslovakia on 1 January 1993.

Between the late 1960s and the early 1990s there may have been a tendency to overstate the extent to which the shared features of Czech and Slovak effectively guaranteed functional bilingualism in the other language, and at the same time to understate the role played by people's regular exposure to the language and culture of their neighbour. It seems likely that some older Czechs now have an exaggerated view of the degree of their active communicative competence in Slovak in the past,

but they are probably not wrong in their impression that there has been an overall decline in people's knowledge of the language in the last decade. The post-Communist generation (whose contact with Slovak varies widely according to personal circumstances) may be more reliant than their elders on context to disambiguate meaning, but their receptive skills are almost certainly better than they would generally acknowledge. The proximity of eastern Moravian dialects to western Slovak dialects, coupled with the tendency of standard Slovak to lean more towards the norms of the west of the country than to the east, ensures that the literary language remains broadly comprehensible to all Czech speakers, except perhaps to very young children. The reluctance of Czechs of all ages to speak Slovak has a deeper psycholinguistic dimension, which reflects their perception that they can communicate more effectively, and in some cases more authoritatively, if they stick largely to their own language. Even Czechs who have Slovak relatives are more inclined to opt for their mother tongue than to switch to Slovak.

The research analysed in this article has provided a statistical basis for substantiating a number of commonly held assumptions about Czech–Slovak linguistic relations (for example, that very few Czechs speak Slovak even when they go to Slovakia, or that Czechs remain well disposed to the Slovaks and their language). More importantly perhaps, it has shed further light on the difficulty of defining the status of two closely related contact languages, previously spoken by members of the principal indigenous populations of the same country (from 1918 to 1938 and 1945 to 1992), where one language has for centuries enjoyed a disproportionate prestige. The single most important finding to emerge from this study may be that just over half of the largest 'ethnic' group in the Czech Republic – the Bohemians – consider the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech to be greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and 'standard' Slovak. The fact that it is the speech of parts of Moravian-Silesia, within fifty kilometres of the Slovak border, which is felt to approximate most closely to the morphology of written Czech, suggests both the relative correspondence between *spisovná čeština* and *spisovná slovenčina*, and also the extent of the differences that exist between *spisovná čeština* and *obecná čeština*.

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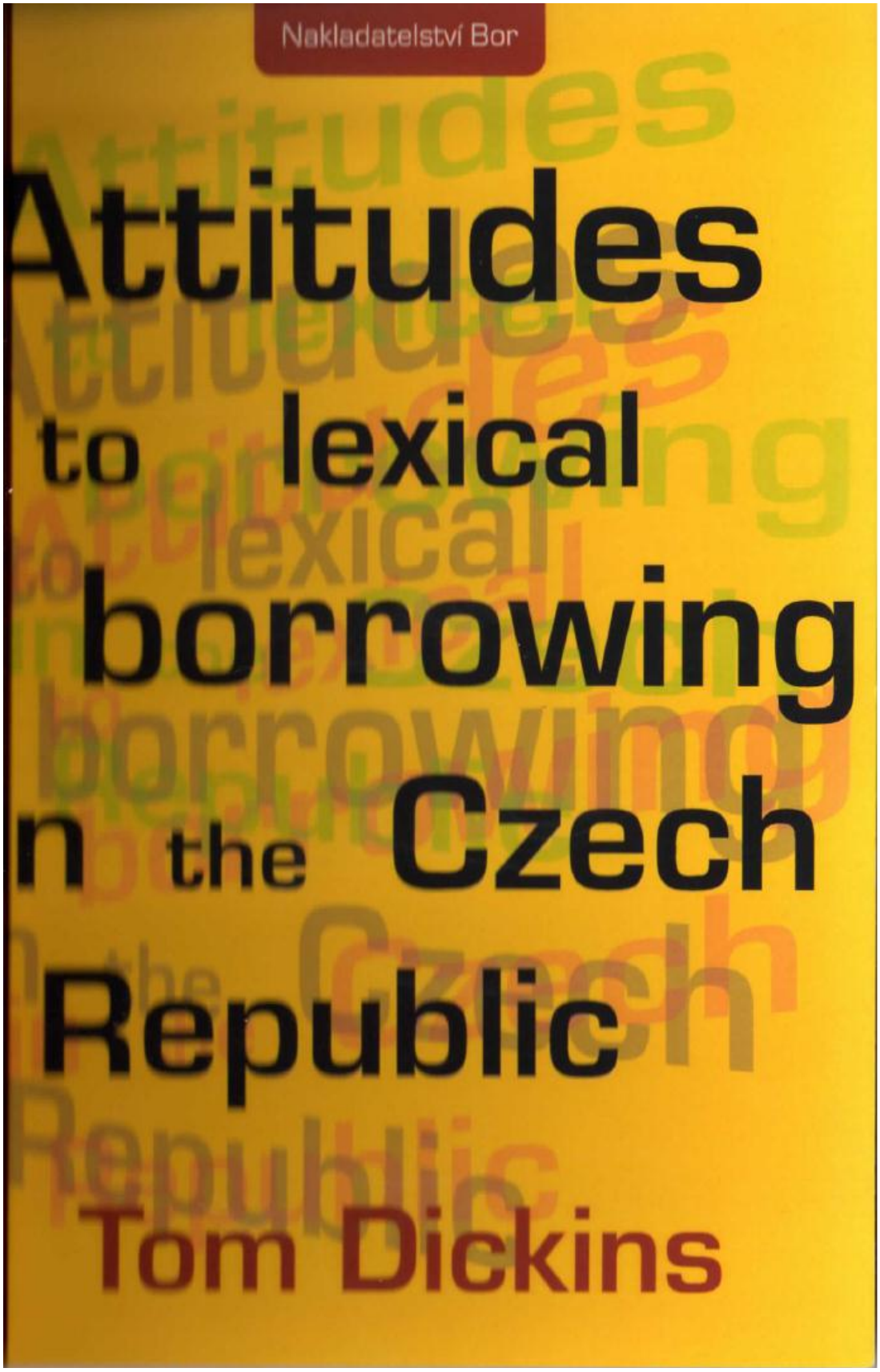
Note: where appropriate, the order of the publications has been altered to conform more closely to British bibliographical conventions, but the approved referencing style of the journal *Naše společnost* has been retained.

## Notes

[1] Gratitude goes to the British Academy, which funded the surveys, and to Jiří Vinopal, who formatted the questionnaire and organized the collection of data. 'Perceptions' interviewed a cross-section of 283 informants, aged 15 and over, from 31 October to 7 November 2005, while 'Ceši a slovenština' drew on a representative sample of 1,126 informants in the same age range from 3 to 10 September 2007.
[2] See [Tejnor 1971] and [Tejnor et al. 1972: 185–201]; see also [Key Data …], [Europeans and Languages …] and [Europeans and their Languages…].
[3] For an overview of research relating to Czech–Slovak relations, see, for example, [Sloboda 2004: 208–220].
[4] [Berger 2003: 19–39].
[5] Written Slovak can be traced back to the fourteenth century, but usage was not standardized, with the result that educated Slovaks generally gave preference to a Slovakized form of Czech (when not using Latin).
[6] See [Gramma 2006].
[7] [Brandner 2006], see [Lipowski 2005].
[8] See, for example, *Ottův slovník naučný nové doby: Dodátky k velikému ottovu slovníku*. Br–Dej (1998: 1170–1172).
[9] [Weingart 1932].
[10] See [Šmejkalová 2005: 32–47].
[11] See [Berger 2003: 24].
[12] [Holý 1996].
[13] [Skilling 1976: 241–244].
[14] See [Daftary, Gál 2000].
[15] In a famous case, Slovak Television (STV) was fined 20,000 Slovak Crowns for broadcasting the Czech puppet show, Spejbl and Hurvínek, in Czech, in contravention of the 2005 Language Law, which states that films for children up to 12 years of age must be dubbed in Slovak.
[16] [Zeman 1997: 182–186].
[17] [Musilová 2005].
[18] Note that parts of western and south-western Bohemia (including the city of Pilsen and the west of the district of Pracheňsko) retain some distinctive dialectal features.
[19] [Neústupný, Nekvapil 2003: 181–366].
[20] For more information on Slovak dialects, see [Stolc 1968].
[21] 'Spisovný jazyk' is defined in *Masarykův slovník naučný*, R–S (1932: 852) as "the form of language in which imaginative and scientific literature are written, which is used in schools and offices, and in press releases, and which is spoken by the educated classes in communication", but a more detailed discussion of this would need to take into account the theory of language culture (*jazyková kultura*). See [Havránek, Weingart 1932] and [Šlosar, Večerka, Dvořák, Malčík 2009].
[22] See [Bělič 1972].
[23] See, for example, [Krčmová 1996: 119–128].
[24] See, for example, [Kuldanová 2003]. Note that the use of the post-vocalic epenthetic 'e' is subject to variation in all forms of Czech and Slovak.
[25] [Bláha 2005: 293–299].
[26] See [Europeans and Languages: 3] and [Znalost cizích …].
[27] If Eurobarometer never acknowledged the mutual comprehensibility of 'genetically' related languages, the uncertain status of Slovak would not merit consideration, but in the Eurobarometer polls states themselves define what is and is not a *foreign language*.
[28] [Scope of denotation …].
[29] See [Zeman 1997: 1650–1655].
[30] [Hauser 1980: 18–58].
[31] See, for example, [Haugen 1987: 157–179].
[32] See, for example, [Greenberg 2004].
[33] [Škodová 2006] and [Tabery 2008].
[34] See, for example, [Vztah k zahraničí …] and [Škodová 2009].

[35] Second choices give a less accurate indication of attitudes, since 29% of the informants offered no response. The 'valid percentage', indicated in the table, is considerably higher, as it omits those who did not reply.
[36] Private email correspondence with Miriam Margala, resulting from a general posting to SEELANGS: Slavic & East European Languages and Literatures list, <SEELANGS@BAMA.UA.EDU>, 22/07/2008.
[37] According to the 2001 Census, the number of Slovaks living in the Czech Republic was 193,190, although 239,355 people claimed Slovak as their mother tongue. The only Slovak-medium basic school, in Karviná, closed in 2000. See [Štráfeldová 2001].
[38] [Haugen 1966: 922–935], see [Budovičová 1987: 49–66] and [Budovičová 1988: 45–54].
[39] See [Pastuszkova 2007].
[40] [Nábělková 2007: 53–73].
[41] The number claiming never to have spoken Slovak decreased from 61% to 54% in response to the question 'Do you speak Slovak better or worse than ten years ago?', but this may be accounted for by the increase in the 'Other replies' and 'Don't knows'.
[42] [Dickins 2009].
[43] See [Kloss 1967: 29–41].


Nakladatelství Bor
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nakladatelství
BOR

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jazyky a texty

Nakladatelství Bor
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Recenzovali doc. PhDr. Zdeněk Starý, CSc., a doc. PhDr. Ivana Bozděchová, CSc.

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# CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to evaluate changes in the Czechs' attitudes to loanwords and calques through detailed comparison of new and existing empirical data. The research draws, in particular, on a nationwide poll conducted on the author's behalf by the Public Opinion Research Centre (CVVM) of the Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences in November 2005: 'Perceptions of lexical borrowing in Czech' (henceforth 'Perceptions').[1] The survey represents the most wide-ranging investigation into lexical borrowing undertaken, and is the first comprehensive quantitative analysis based on stratified sampling in the post-Communist era. The initial stimulus for the research was the realisation that up to now no scholars have sought to replicate a major study carried out in October 1970 by A. Tejnor et al. of the Public Opinion Research Institute (the predecessor body to the CVVM).[2] The diachronic dimension of the author's work is supplemented by a range of more recent data, including his own small-scale questionnaire in June–July 2005, and two more narrowly focused polls by Jiří Kraus (1995) and Silke Gester (2000).[3]

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[1] Gratitude goes to the British Academy, which funded the survey through a Small Research Grant, and to Jiří Vinopal, who formatted the questionnaire and coordinated the collection of data. 'Perceptions' interviewed a cross-section of 283 informants, aged 15 and over, from 31st October to 7th November 2005. The main variables identified (in roughly declining order of importance for this study) were age, education, sex, knowledge of other languages, occupation/branch of employment, geographical location, average monthly income per household/personal income and religion/denomination. (See Appendix 1.)

[2] Antonín Tejnor. *Cizí slova v českém jazyce.* Prague: Ústav pro výzkum veřejného mínění, 1971, and Antonín Tejnor et al. *Přejatá slova a veřejné mínění.* Naše řeč. 1972, vol. 55, no. 4, pp. 185–201. (See Appendix 2.)

[3] For the results of Dickins' original questionnaire, *Jak reagujete na cizí slova v současné češtině? (How do you react to foreign words in contemporary Czech?)*, see *The Legacy and Limitations of Czech Purism.* Slavonica. 2007, vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 113–133. See also Jiří Kraus. *Několik poznámek k pocitu jazykového ohrožení.* Naše řeč, 1996, vol. 79, no. 1, pp. 1–9, and *Jaká je čeština v letech devadesátých? (Zpracování anketního výzkumu).* In František Daneš et al. *Český jazyk na přelomu tisíciletí.* Prague: Academia, 1997,

It is to be hoped that the work will make a more general contribution to existing knowledge of language variation and change, as well as highlighting the current state of thinking on lexical innovation and borrowing. The Czechs have traditionally regarded their mother tongue as the principal determinant and embodiment of their national identity, and 'Perceptions' proceeds from the premise that language use and interpretation remain key indicators of ethnocultural affiliation. The adoption and adaptation of loanwords serve both to reflect and to consolidate ideologically influenced developments, and to demonstrate the extent of people's linguistic integration into mainstream European culture. Lexical change also has important implications for public policy, especially in the fields of education, the media and official documentation, and may even have a bearing on an individual's employment opportunities. Yet, there has been a tendency to overlook the broader ideological dimensions of borrowing in the post-Communist era and to highlight, instead, the imperative of second language acquisition and linguistic integration. Very little consideration been given to why native speakers sometimes opt for foreign lexical items in preference to indigenous terms, or to how the use of these words is interpreted by other Czechs. Moreover, even less attention has been paid to the possible impact of foreign terminology and calques on the self-image and social mobility of disadvantaged groups (especially, perhaps, the elderly and less well educated). Diana Svobodová, who has written extensively on the reasons for and the processes of borrowing, cautions strongly against the indiscriminate use of Anglicisms: "We should certainly not choose an English phrase simply because it happens to be 'in' or creates the impression of 'worldwide appeal'. We are not purists and we do not reject an English word because it is foreign, but we should, nonetheless, always take into account whether it is comprehensible and serves a purpose in a particular text."[4]

The use of loanwords may vary from speaker to speaker, but the foreign terms themselves have traditionally served one or more clearly defined purposes, of

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pp. 288–292, and Silke Gester. *Anglizismen im Tschechischen und im Deutschen.* Frankfurt am Main, Berlin, Bern, Brussels, New York, Oxford & Vienna: Peter Lang, 2001, and *První empirická recepce anglicismů v českém jazyce.* Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001. (See Appendix 2.)

[4] Diana Svobodová. *Anglické výrazy v českém publicistickém stylu.* Naše řeč. 1996, vol. 79, no. 2, pp. 99–102 (p. 102), and *Anglicismy v českých publicistických textech – důvody a způsoby jejich užívání.* In Marie Čechová & Dobrava Moldanová (eds). *Jinakost, cizost v jazyce a v literatuře. Sborník z mezinárodní konference.* Ústí nad Lábem: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1999, pp. 165–169.

which the most important have either been to fill lexical gaps or to act as prestige markers. Another factor which is strongly influencing current usage, and may relate to either of the above, is globalisation. Where foreign neologisms express an objective need to convey fresh information or describe new phenomena, they tend to be stylistically unmarked, and enjoy widespread acceptance. This is especially the case where they have been partly or fully nativised through morphological and phonological adaptation, as in forms such as *recyklování* (recycling) or *webdesignérství* [veb-] (web design). Where they are merely modish alternatives to existing indigenous lexical items, they are generally perceived as stylistically coloured and instrumentally superfluous. However, a great many 'internationalisms' (phrases existing in a range of languages, generally derived from and with the same meaning as in English) have recently gained currency even where an established Czech alternative exists (for example, *power play* for *přesilovka* or *manažer* [manager] for *vedoucí*), on the grounds that they facilitate communication in a global context.[5]

Paradoxically, there is significant overlap between the functions of loanwords and those of the standard language or *spisovná čeština*, if not between their implied attitudes to language loyalty. Paul L. Garvin identifies the five principal functions of *spisovná čeština* as (1) the unifying function, (2) the separatist function, (3) the prestige function, (4) the frame-of-reference function, and (5) the participatory function.[6] It could similarly be argued that borrowing serves to express linguistic solidarity with fellow users or to exclude another group, or both simultaneously, as well as enabling Czech to function on equal terms with other national idioms in the cultural and economic activities of the modern world. Moreover, the use of appropriate foreign vocabulary tends to reflect positively on an individual's social status (irrespective of its implications for the development of the language), and it may even indicate a heightened awareness of language per se, including an appreciation of the lexical diversity of *spisovná čeština*.

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[5] For the most comprehensive study of the internationalisation of Czech, see Diana Svobodová. *Internacionalizace současné české slovní zásoby*. Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2007. Internationalisms may have varying and mixed etymology, and are not necessarily always adopted via English; for example, 'dispečer' (production manager; traffic controller), 'kombajn' (combine harvester) and 'kontejner' (container) entered Czech through Russian.

[6] Paul L. Garvin. *Czechoslovak Linguistics and the World*. Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity. 1991, vol. 19, no. 13, pp. 93–101.

The selection of non-standard, colloquial or borrowed terminology is governed primarily by the intended target audience and social setting. Howard Giles developed the notion of stylistic appropriateness in his *accommodation theory*, which posits that the use of language converges or diverges according to the characteristics of one's interlocutors.[7]

Corporate and professional discourse, in particular, is replete with Anglicisms which would be unfamiliar to all except those regularly exposed to the specialised jargon or with a background in languages, thereby effectively excluding other participants. Commercial situations may require the use of foreign terminology, especially where technical processes are involved or foreigners are present, but at its most extreme, the use of loanwords may constitute a deliberate strategy to reinforce a person's status by disempowering the uninitiated. In the terms of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, foreign buzzwords may help to reinforce the 'symbolic power' of the elite, whose social and cultural capital is already derived, at least in part, from their mastery of language; that is to say, the 'legitimate' or official language.[8]

In the past, the Czechs experienced only too painfully the privilege that one language can bestow upon a people over another. The dominance of German and the suppression of Czech linguistic identity were major factors in the development of a sense of Czech ethnicity in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century. For many reform-minded scholars, such as Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), the integrity of the language came to symbolise the commonality of a people, and loanwords were seen as a direct challenge to their cultural autonomy. Miroslav Hroch, in his seminal work on the typology of national revival, points out that in the Czech case the transition from the period of scholarly activity in the second half of the eighteenth century (Phase A in his schema) to the period of patriotic agitation in the first half of the nineteenth century (Phase B) was seriously impeded by the repressive policy of the Austrian state, despite the existence of otherwise relatively favourable conditions for the attainment of national consciousness. As a result, for a long time "the patriots were compelled to limit themselves to a language programme, which of course could not find a sufficiently broad base in the sphere of the material interests of the mass of the

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[7] See, for example, Howard Giles. (ed.), *Language, ethnicity and intergroup relations*. London & New York: Academic Press, 1977.

[8] See Pierre Bourdieu. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Trans. by Gino Raymond & Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002. Bourdieu's analysis is perhaps less applicable to Czech society than to societies such as France and Britain, where there is greater social stratification and ethnic diversity.

population".[9] During the rise of a mass national movement, which in Bohemia was linked to the revolution of 1848–1949 (Phase C), the Czech language became, in the words of Barbara Törnquist-Plewa, "the most important mobilising and integrating instrument in the formation of the modern Czech nation".[10] Scholars of the national revival and national identity have continued to highlight the link between the concept of 'nation' and 'language', with the result that it remains part of a universally recognised canon amongst Czechs, irrespective of where they live.[11] Ladislav Holy expresses it thus: "In the Czech conceptualisation, the nation is defined by common language and culture and remains a nation whether its members inhabit a particular territory or not."[12]

Until the 1920s more extreme advocates of lexical inviolability sought to purge the language altogether of Germanisms and other borrowings, and to derive all new terms from Czech (or, at the very least, Slavonic) sources. The impetus for these prescriptive interpretations of how Czech should develop is complex and multifaceted. František Daneš distinguishes between two sets of attitudes to language intervention: instrumental versus affective and ethical versus traditional, both of which include rational and non-rational motivations.[13] According to George Thomas, non-rational motivations comprise aesthetic considerations (based on notions of the uniqueness and irreplaceability of the national culture), social factors (the public's perception of usage in different contexts), the role of national consciousness (opposition to those elements of language which threaten its identity, and the identity of the culture of which it is a manifestation and a symbol), and psychological impulses (the need to protect the language from

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[9] Miroslav Hroch. *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*. Cambridge: CUP, 1985, p. 61.

[10] Barbara Törnquist-Plewa. *Contrasting Ethnic Nationalisms: Eastern Central Europe*. In Stephen Barbour & Cathie Carmichael (eds). *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. Oxford: OUP, 2002, pp. 183–220 (p. 209).

[11] See, for example, Albert Pražák. *Národ se bránil. Obrany národa a jazyka českého*. Prague: Sfinx, 1946, and Vladimír Macura. *Znamení zrodu. České obrození jako kulturní typ*. Prague: Československý spisovatel, 1983.

[12] Ladislav Holy. *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation. National Identity and the Post-communist Social Transformation*. Cambridge: CUP, 1996, p. 188.

[13] František Daneš. *Dialektische Tendenzen in der Entwicklung der Literatursprache*. In Jürgen Scharnhorst & Edgar Radtke (eds). *Grundlagen der Sprachkultur. Beiträge der Prager Linguistik zur Sprachtheorie und Sprachpflege*. Part 1. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982, pp. 92–113.

presumed external threats or the danger of internal disintegration). Rational motivations consist of the intelligibility argument (loanwords and foreign-based compounds may impair comprehension), sociolinguistic functional criteria (the solidarity function, the separating function and the prestige function, also cited by Garvin in respect of the functions of *spisovná čeština*), and structural arguments (relating to problems of phonological and morphological adaptation).[14]

Although the purists' motivations are easy to understand, and may have been well intentioned, their zeal served to place unrealistic constraints on language usage.[15] In particular, it narrowed the scope of self-expression, thereby undermining authenticity and stifling creativity. Even before the establishment of the First Republic in 1918, the writer Ivan Olbracht, amongst others, had lamented the strictures imposed on his work.[16] In the nineteen-twenties, scholars such as Josef Zubatý and Václav Ertl had begun to reevaluate some of the more outdated and prescriptive notions of language.[17] But it was not until the early 1930s that the Prague Linguistic Circle definitively asserted the legitimacy of functionally necessary loanwords, in opposition to Jiří Haller, editor *Naše řeč*, among others.[18] Vilém Mathesius and other members of the Circle advocated language change on the basis of a 'flexible stability', which dismissed the antiquation of language and

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[14] George Thomas. *Linguistic Purism*. London & New York: Longman, 1991, pp. 39–61.

[15] Publications seeking to regulate Czech included František Bartoš. *Nová rukověť správné češtiny*. Telč: Emil Šolc, 1901; Petr Zenkl. *Příručka správné mateřštiny*. Prague: Vilímek, 1916–1920, and Václav Müller. *Rukověť správné češtiny*. Příbram: A. Pelz, 1946.

[16] See the introduction to the 1939 edition of his collection of stories, *O zlých samotářích*. Prague: Melantrich, 1939, first published in 1913. Cited in František Trávníček. *Nástroj myšlení a dorozumění: Hrst úvah o spisovné češtině*. Prague: Fr. Borový, 1940, p. 192.

[17] See, for example, Václav Ertl. *Časové úvahy o naší mateřštině*. Prague: Jednota československých matematiků a fysiků s podporou ministerstva školství a národní osvěty, 1929.

[18] See Roman Jakobson. *O dnešním brusičství českém*. In Bohumil Havránek & Miloš Weingart (eds). *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*. Prague: Melantrich, 1932, pp. 85–122. Haller's contribution to the discussion, which has generally been ignored or maligned, has only recently been re-aired, thanks to the publication of a collection of his articles: Jiří Haller. *Dar jazyka: deset statí o češtině*. Prague: Herrman & synové, 2007. For an up-to-date assessment of Haller's work, see Milan Jelínek. *Purismus*. In Jana Pleskalová et al. (eds). *Kapitoly z dějin české jazykovědné bohemistiky*. Prague: Academia, 2007, pp. 540–572 (pp. 561–565).

the imposition of artificial norms.[19] They understood intuitively not only that lexical borrowing is a natural feature of language development, but that regulations and guides to 'correct' usage have only a marginal impact on language choice. However, even their approach has been rejected as too traditional by some linguists, on the grounds that it likewise places unrealistic constraints on language development, and seeks to determine the legitimacy of linguistic innovation. Zdeněk Starý has stated three particular objections: "a) it is framed by the idea of the standard language, b) it is doctrinal, c) it is interventionist by its nature".[20] If Starý's critique of the Prague School's theory of language cultivation is correct, and is considered in conjunction with the strong normative influences of the education system and the media in the Communist era, this may go some way to explaining Czechs' continued wariness about the influence of certain types of lexical borrowing.

The tendency for Czechs to eschew loanwords which they regard as superfluous may also reside in a combination of other social, political and linguistic factors. Language maintenance in the First Republic was principally a product of the desire to consolidate the status of Czech in a country which had only just asserted its linguistic independence, and where, according to both the 1921 and 1931 Censuses, over three million people (around 30% of the population of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia) were German on the basis of their mother tongue.[21] The defeat of Hitler and the subsequent expulsion from Czechoslovakia of over two million German speakers eradicated any threat to Czech linguistic self-determination, but it left no other major foreign lexical source for people to draw on, since western culture and languages were officially marginalised, and Soviet-style rhetoric was largely rejected in the private sphere. It is possible that the structural factors identified by Thomas may have acted as a further restraint on lexical innovation, not only in respect of west European influences, but even in the case of Russianisms.[22]

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[19] Vilém Mathesius. *O potřebě stability ve spisovném jazyce*. In Vilém Mathesius. *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt*. Prague: Melantrich, 1947, pp. 415–435.

[20] Zdeněk Starý. *The Forbidden Fruit is the Most Tempting or Why There is No Czech Sociolinguistics*. In Eva Eckert (ed.). *Varieties of Czech: Studies in Czech Sociolinguistics*. Amsterdam–Atlanta: Rodopi, 1993, pp. 79–95 (p. 80).

[21] See, for example, Václav L. Beneš. *Czechoslovak Democracy and its Problems*. In Victor S. Mamatey & Radomír Luža (eds). *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–1948*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973, pp. 39–98 (p. 40).

[22] Even under socialism, west European languages probably made a more direct contribution to the Czech word stock than Russianisms. For practical examples, see

The rules of word formation and the heavily inflected character of Czech may, in theory, make it less amenable to borrowing than, say, English. Some respected linguists, such as Neustupný, have proposed the typological profile of the language, rather than puristic sentiment, as the principal motivation for Czechs' tendency to opt for indigenous morphemes in preference to foreign lexical items.[23] However, while Czech may not lend itself naturally to the adoption of non western Slavonic root words, the apparent ease and alacrity with which the language is currently absorbing Anglicisms suggests that purely linguistic considerations may not represent a significant barrier to borrowing when the appropriate economic and social conditions prevail. New lexical items are either absorbed into the Czech word stock through a process of morphological adaptation (for example, *webová stránka* [webpage]) or, where phonological or orthographic constraints render this problematic, they are treated as indeclinable (for instance, *on-line*).

There is little likelihood now of a puristic backlash of the type that characterised anti-German feeling in the past, but there is a commonly held view that Czech suffers from a surfeit of borrowing. Speakers have no problems with foreign root words which have been fully nativised, such as *banka* (bank) or *kalendář* (calendar), or indeed with well established lexical items which are still recognised to be of foreign provenance, such as *víkend* (weekend). They are, however, less accepting of imported expressions where there is a Czech synonym, as with *downloadovat* for *stáhnout* (to download), and they are particularly critical of the over-use of lexical exoticisms, such as *brainstorming*.[24]

A clear majority of Dickins' sample felt that the vernacular currently contains too much unnecessary borrowing, while just five interviewees (1.8%) deemed the amount to be insufficient. Nearly three-quarters of the informants in 'Perceptions' expressed the opinion that foreign lexical items are over-used in everyday conversation, although paradoxically most claimed that they themselves rarely or almost never employ them in their speech. Significantly, only 35.3% believed that loanwords in general pose an overt threat to the national culture, with even fewer maintaining that the principal donor language – English –

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Přemysl Hauser. *Nauka o slovní zásobě*. Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1980, p. 166.

[23] J. V. Neustupný. *Language purism as a type of language correction*. In Björn H. Jernudd & Michael J. Shapiro (eds). *The Politics of Language Purism*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989, pp. 211–223 (pp. 214–215).

[24] Lexical exoticisms are terms which tend to relate to other cultural realities, and may currently require a paraphrase or gloss.

represents a challenge to Czech. Moreover, 38.5% of the interviewees actually felt that borrowing contributes to the enrichment of Czech rather than to its impoverishment. When asked directly whether foreign phrases (such as *suvenýr* for *upomínkový předmět* [souvenir]) are justified on the grounds that they enhance understanding between peoples, nearly 80% said 'yes', whereas Tejnor's informants were evenly divided on the issue. It is thus no longer the existence of borrowing per se which causes serious concern, but the feeling that language is being abused and manipulated for not altogether laudable purposes.

More than three-fifths of the informants in 'Perceptions' cited the desire to show off as one of the two principal motivations for using loanwords. The excessive use of foreign vocabulary also appears to reinforce a sense of linguistic vulnerability and estrangement, which is especially prevalent amongst the over-60s, and which applies to both spoken and written forms of communication. A large majority of people feel that they need a better understanding of neologisms derived from other languages, and almost all the interviewees admit that these terms sometimes, frequently or constantly cause them problems in their everyday lives. This is despite the fact that nearly half of the informants said that they listen to foreign language broadcasts or watch foreign television stations, 30.7% asserted that they talk or write to people in a foreign language, and 26.9% claimed to read foreign language publications.

The question of language competence is strictly beyond the remit of this article, but it merits a brief acknowledgement here as it has a direct bearing on lexical borrowing.[25] According to European Union data, 60% of Czechs over the age of 15 can now speak a second language (excluding Slovak).[26] Suffice it to say, English is the most widely taught foreign language in the Czech Republic, with 78.6% of pupils in standard basic schools (generally aged 6 to 15) and 76.6% of secondary schoolchildren (aged 15 to 19) taking it in 2005/6, as opposed to 55.2% and 26.04%, respectively, in the case of German.[27] The pre-eminence of

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[25] For more detailed information, see J. V. Neustupný & Jiří Nekvapil. *Language Management in the Czech Republic*. Current Issues in Language Planning. 2003, vol. 4, nos. 3 & 4, pp. 181–366.

[26] See *Europeans and Languages*. Brussels: Eurobarometer, 2005, p. 3. <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_237.en.pdf> [accessed 12 October, 2006]. The poll was conducted by TNS Aisa in May/June 2005, and was based on 1,083 interviewees.

[27] The figures are provided by the Institute for Information on Education: *Vývojová ročenka Školství v ČR: B6.2.1 Základní školy – žáci učící se cizí jazyky ve školním*

English in the classroom is both reflected in and helps to consolidate its status as the primary donor language (except in specific domains such as cooking, where the modern lexicon is strongly influenced by Italian, French and the Oriental languages). English has distinct advantages and attractions as the principal foreign lexifier – not only is it the global language of political and economic power technological advancement and a great deal of popular culture, but it benefits from the fact that it is not identified exclusively with a specific national culture or ethnic group, and by its lack of negative historical and ideological associations for most Czechs.

*roce 2000/01 až 2005/06 (bez škol při výchovných ústavech)*, and *Vývojová ročenka Školství v ČR: B6.2.3 Střední školy (G, SOŠ, SOU) – žáci učící se cizí jazyky ve školním roce 2000/01 až 2005/06*. Prague: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání, 2007. <http://www.uiv.cz/clanek/586/1297> [accessed 12 March, 2007].

# ANALYSIS OF EMPIRICAL DATA

All the major surveys into lexical borrowing indicate that people have enduring misgivings about the prevalence and use of loanwords in Czech, and feel concerned about their impact on the development of the language. The consensus in every study is that the overall number of foreign terms exceeds requirements. Only two (0.7%) of the informants in 'Perceptions' felt that there are too few lexical imports in Czech, while 48.1% said that there are too many, and 44.5% deemed the current range of borrowed expressions to be more or less appropriate. In Dickins' earlier questionnaire, 40% said that there is a surfeit of foreign words, and in Gester's larger poll, 47% deemed the number of Anglicisms to be too great. In Tejnor's survey, which asked people to state whether or not they considered the total number of foreign terms 'excessive', and excluded the option of identifying the number as 'about right', 64% answered in the affirmative, 29% in the negative, and 7% said that they did not know. Given the differences in the phrasing of the questions and the responses available to the informants, it is difficult to assess objectively the change in people's perception of the acceptability of borrowing. The problem is further compounded by the lack of reliable data about the percentage of lexical items which might have been construed as 'foreign' in 1971 and 2005, as well as by the absence of any universally recognised, fixed definition for 'loanword'. Even authoritative modern corpus-based dictionaries exclude a number of foreign neologisms, and do not differentiate between the various types of lexical innovation derived from other languages.[28] Nevertheless, it seems clear that, relative to the number of foreign words in the Czech lexicon at the time of Tejnor's survey and in the early twenty-first century, there is nowadays a far greater acceptance of borrowing than there was previously. Whether they admit it or not, virtually all speakers have embraced a wide range of imported vocabulary, which in many cases either did not exist at all in the donor language in the 1970s or has undergone significant semantic extension. The interviewees in 'Perceptions'

[28] See František Čermák, Michal Křen et al. *Frekvenční slovník češtiny*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2004, based on the written synchronic corpus FSC2000, which is itself derived from the corpus SYN2000, and is part of the Czech National Corpus.

might have asserted a theoretical, puristic preference for vocabulary derived from indigenous sources, but in reality they frequently opted for loanwords even where a Czech alternative exists.

Responses to questionnaires do not necessarily correspond directly either to people's everyday language use or to what their metalinguistic behaviour reveals about their attitudes to foreign language influences in practice. Neustupný draws a clear distinction between the actual correction processes which occur in discourse and the way they are referred to in metalinguistic statements of the puristic idiom, as well as between the idiom itself (in its various manifestations) and the ideologies which accompany the correction processes. He further maintains that, in cases of a puristic reaction to "historical impurity" and "foreign dependence", negative evaluation of non-indigenous elements starts as ideological purism, before being transferred to the idiom, and only then affecting discourse.[29] Where the existence of loanwords does not present a significant challenge to linguistic autonomy, negative evaluation of borrowing is probably rarely the primary determinant of lexical choice. Purism is not usually applied generically to foreign terms (even though it may help to set a prescriptive tone which has some bearing on people's overall perception of borrowing), but it tends to be targeted at a specific language (i.e. German in the case of Czech speakers up to the beginning of the twentieth century).

Both Tejnor and Dickins found that, of all the dependent variables[30] which are reflected in the metalinguistic idiom and everyday discourse, education and age have the most profound bearing on the Czechs' interpretation of foreign lexical influences. Amongst informants with incomplete secondary education, 67% of those interviewed in 1970 and 54.1% of the November 2005 sample were of the view that there is a surfeit of foreign vocabulary, whereas 52.5% of all Tejnor's graduates and 53.1% of Dickins' graduates were reconciled to the current state of the language. 'Perceptions' highlights an even more striking correlation between attitudes to borrowing and both age and gender, with 67.2% of the over 60 year-olds critical of the number of loanwords, compared with just 27.6% of the 15–29 age range, and 52.2% of men opposed to the level of borrowing, as against 44.3% of women. Whereas 61.8% of men aged 45–60 and 76.7% of men over 60 years old regarded the number of foreign terms as excessive, the figures for women in the same

[29] Neustupný. *Language purism as a type of language correction*. pp. 211–223.

[30] See Ralph Fasold. *The Sociolinguistics of Society: Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. vol. 1. Oxford: Blackwell, 1984, p. 87, for a brief discussion of dependent and independent variables.

age ranges were 42.5% and 58.1%, respectively. Even allowing for unlikely sampling peculiarities, it would appear that middle-aged and older men are especially resistant to change, thereby contradicting the sociolinguistic axiom that it is women who use more prestige forms and are primarily responsible for language maintenance.[31]

Views on the overall number of foreign words (according to education) (Q. 22)

| | Basic or less | Incomplete secondary | Secondary | Higher education | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| There are too many | 35 (53.8%) | 59 (54.1%) | 31 (40.3%) | 11 (34.4%) | 136 (48.1%) |
| There are too few | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 2 (6.3%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| It's about right | 22 (33.8%) | 43 (39.4%) | 44 (57.1%) | 17 (53.1%) | 126 (44.5%) |
| Don't know | 8 (12.3%) | 7 (6.4%) | 2 (2.6%) | 2 (6.3%) | 19 (6.7%) |

Views on the overall number of foreign words (according to age) (Q. 22)

| | 15–19 | 20–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| There are too many | 8 (27.6%) | 13 (27.7%) | 36 (50%) | 38 (51.4%) | 41 (67.2%) |
| There are too few | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 1 (1.4%) | 1 (1.6%) |
| It's about right | 17 (58.6%) | 31 (66%) | 30 (41.7%) | 32 (43.2%) | 16 (26.2%) |
| Don't know | 4 (13.8%) | 3 (6.4%) | 6 (8.3%) | 3 (4.1%) | 3 (4.9%) |

Views on the overall number of foreign words (according to sex and age) (Q. 22)

| | Male | | | | | Female | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | Total | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | Total |
| Too many | 27% | 48.5% | 61.8% | 76.7% | 52.2% | 28.2% | 51.3% | 42.5% | 58.1% | 44.3% |
| Too few | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2.5% | 3.2% | 1.3% |
| It's about right | 59.5% | 42.4% | 38.2% | 20% | 41% | 66.7% | 41% | 47.5% | 32.3% | 47.7% |
| Don't know | 13.5% | 9.1% | 0% | 3.3% | 6.7% | 5.1% | 7.7% | 7.5% | 6.5% | 6.7% |

People's idealised views of their mother tongue may not always correspond to their actual usage, but they probably contribute to a general impression that language standards are declining. The sentiment that the national idiom was somehow purer and less contaminated by foreign influences in the past (which is by no means confined to Czech) is strongest among the older generation, but to some extent transcends generational differences. When asked to compare the state

[31] See, for example, Jennifer Coates. *Women, Men and Language*. London & New York: Longman, 1993, especially Chapter 4, *Quantitative studies*. pp. 61–86.

of Czech between February 1990 and February 1995, a majority of Jiří Kraus's 1,078 informants in all age ranges and all eight of his specified domains (everyday communication, newspapers, the radio, television, education, political speeches, bureaucracy, books/fiction) asserted that the language had deteriorated, rather than improved. Most striking of all was the fact that only 3% of his informants felt that there had been an improvement in everyday communication. 'Perceptions', which followed on chronologically from Kraus's survey, found broadly similar results for the period from 1995 to 2005. Just 12% of Dickins' informants asserted that people write Czech better nowadays than a decade or so ago, with 54.8% identifying a decline in standards, while 15.2% said that spoken Czech has improved, as opposed to 58% who noted a deterioration.

There is a great deal of variation in people's perceptions of the effect of borrowing on the development of Czech, which may partly reflect the difficulty of categorising different types of loanwords. However, the findings of both Tejnor's and Dickins' surveys suggest that there has been comparatively little change in overall attitudes to the impact of foreign lexical items. When asked directly whether borrowing enriches or impoverishes the language, more informants in both major studies said that foreign terms lead to the impoverishment of the language rather than contribute to its enrichment – Tejnor: 46% versus 37%, and Dickins: 47.3% versus 38.5% – in contrast to the view of linguists such as Diana Svobodová, who accentuate the merits of lexical innovation.[32] Gester's figures do not bear direct comparison since her informants were asked to evaluate a list of given words based on ten different criteria, but her study nonetheless identifies a similar pattern, with 27.3% regarding borrowing as a negative phenomenon and 24.7% as positive.[33] Despite a massive increase in exposure to foreign languages and cultures since 1989, there has been no commensurate rise in the proportion of the population who feel that Czech has benefitted significantly from the internationalisation of its lexicon.

All three surveys show that attitudes to the impact of loanwords correlate closely to the variable of age, and Tejnor and Dickins further highlight a clear correlation with education. Younger and better educated informants tend to

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[32] See Svobodová. *Internacionalizace současné české slovní zásoby*. p. 128. In Dickins' small-scale questionnaire, based mainly on informants from around the Prague area, a majority of three to one stated that borrowing enriches the lexicon, but these results were not replicated in 'Perceptions'.

[33] When Gester's criteria were applied to a later question in 'Perceptions', only 20.5% said that they find loanwords enriching (compared with 68.9% who disagreed).

accentuate the importance of borrowing as a modernising influence, while the older and less well educated interviewees focus more on its negative implications. Nearly two-thirds (61%) of Tejnor's informants aged over 55, and more than half (52%) of those with just basic (or less) education, felt that borrowing impoverishes the language, compared with figures of 59% amongst Dickins' over-60 year-olds and 47.6% in his least well educated group.[34] None of Dickins' 60+ age group asserted that borrowing 'definitely enriches' Czech, and none of his arts graduates maintained that it 'definitely impoverishes' the language.

**Views on lexical borrowing (comparison of key data) (Q. 29)**[35]

| | Tejnor | | | | | | Dickins | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All | 15–18 | 55+ | Basic or less | HE Tech. | HE Arts | All | 15–19 | 60+ | Basic or less | HE |
| **Definitely enriches** | 8% | 17% | 5% | 5% | 13% | 12% | 4.6% | 10.3% | 0% | 7.7% | 3.1% |
| **Tends to enrich** | 29% | 29% | 19% | 22% | 53% | 32% | 33.9% | 37.9% | 23% | 24.6% | 46.9% |
| **Tends to impoverish** | 35% | 19% | 39% | 35% | 20% | 44% | 37.8% | 31% | 45.9% | 33.8% | 34.4% |
| **Definitely impoverishes** | 11% | 2% | 22% | 17% | 7% | 0% | 9.5% | 3.4% | 13.1% | 13.8% | 3.1% |
| **Don't know** | 13% | 29% | 11% | 19% | 0% | 0% | 14.1% | 17.2% | 18% | 20% | 12.5% |
| **Other reply** | 4% | 4% | 4% | 2% | 7% | 12% | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a |

In 'Perceptions', 52.6% of the 15–29 year-olds, and exactly half of all graduates, thought that borrowing enriches the language, compared with figures of 35.5% and 37.5%, respectively, for those who considered that it has a deleterious effect on Czech. Education may be an even more significant factor than age: amongst those with higher education, 83.3% of the 20–29 year-olds and 45.5% of the over 60 year-olds maintained that foreign lexical items embellish the language, whereas amongst those with basic (or less) education, 52.5% of the younger age group and 76.4% of the oldest age range regarded their influence as detrimental. The perceptions of graduates have undergone an interesting change since 1970 – in Tejnor's study, 66% of graduates with a technical orientation and 44% of those with humanities degrees found foreign terms enriching, whereas Dickins'

[34] This figure rises to 50.4% amongst those with incomplete secondary education.

[35] The percentages cited relate to the proportion of interviewees within the specific band identified, not to the overall number of informants in the survey.

equivalent figures were 25% and 83%. It would seem that many scientists see the new terminology as a complicating factor, whereas arts graduates are now reconciled to the importance of borrowing, and have almost unanimously rejected the 'non-rational' arguments for language intervention.[36]

While education and foreign language study may mitigate some of the effects of age-grading, the irrefutable fact is that each generation of older people views foreign words less favourably than they used to and than their successors do now. Dickins again found that older men express a particular hostility to borrowing – 66.6% of over-60 males said that it harms the language, compared to 51.6% of 60+ females. (This is particularly interesting since the global figures for the two sexes are almost identical: 38.1% of men and 38.9% of women see loanwords positively, and 47% of men and 47.1% of women view them negatively.)[37] The older generation would seem to be basing their judgements on a combination of 'non-rational' motivations (relating directly or indirectly to the role of national consciousness) and more 'rational' motivations (of which the intelligibility argument is of paramount importance).

**Views on the overall effect of lexical borrowing (according to age) (Q. 29)**

| | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Definitely enriches** | 6 (7.9%) | 5 (6.9%) | 2 (2.7%) | 0 (0%) | 13 (4.6%) |
| **Tends to enrich** | 34 (44.7%) | 24 (33.3%) | 24 (32.4%) | 14 (23%) | 96 (33.9%) |
| **Tends to impoverish** | 21 (27.6%) | 28 (38.9%) | 30 (40.5%) | 28 (45.9%) | 107 (37.8%) |
| **Definitely impoverishes** | 6 (7.9%) | 7 (9.7%) | 6 (8.1%) | 8 (13.1%) | 27 (9.5%) |
| **Don't know** | 9 (11.8%) | 8 (11.1%) | 12 (16.2%) | 11 (18%) | 40 (14.1%) |

**Views on the overall effect of lexical borrowing (according to education) (Q. 29)**

| | Basic or less | Incomplete secondary | Secondary | Higher education | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Definitely enriches** | 5 (7.7%) | 3 (2.8%) | 4 (5.2%) | 1 (3.1%) | 13 (4.6%) |
| **Tends to enrich** | 16 (24.6%) | 34 (31.2%) | 31 (40.3%) | 15 (46.9%) | 96 (33.9%) |
| **Tends to impoverish** | 22 (33.8%) | 43 (39.4%) | 31 (40.3%) | 11 (34.4%) | 107 (37.8%) |
| **Definitely impoverishes** | 9 (13.8%) | 12 (11%) | 5 (6.5%) | 1 (3.1%) | 27 (9.5%) |
| **Don't know** | 13 (20%) | 17 (15.6%) | 6 (7.8%) | 4 (12.5%) | 40 (14.1%) |

[36] Tejnor's terms broadly equate to science and arts graduates.

[37] There are some anomalies in these figures; for example, 9 out of the 14 female graduates saw loanwords as enriching, whereas only 7 out of the 18 male graduates agreed.

In response to a more detailed question on the causes of lexical borrowing, chosen for the purpose of direct comparison with Gester's survey, 79.9% of informants agreed that it began after 1989; 72.4% felt it to be characteristic of the younger generation; 51.2% said that it promotes understanding between different peoples, and 38.2% concurred with the proposition that it makes life easier (as opposed to 44.9% who disagreed). Interestingly, when asked directly, 'Are foreign words justified on the grounds that they make life easier?' and 'Are foreign words justified on the grounds that they enhance understanding between peoples?', the numbers responding in the affirmative were far higher – 61.1% and 78.1%, respectively.[38] Over half (54.1%) of Dickins' sample viewed foreign vocabulary as bad for Czech, but only 35.3% regarded it as a threat to their national culture, and even fewer – 32.9% – saw it as the exclusive domain of specialists. Although 41.7% advocated self-constraint in the use of loanwords, 38.9% did not consider this necessary, and a mere 7.4% (including 14.8% of the over-60s) thought that borrowing should be regulated by law.

**What is your reaction to the use of foreign words? (Q. 23)**

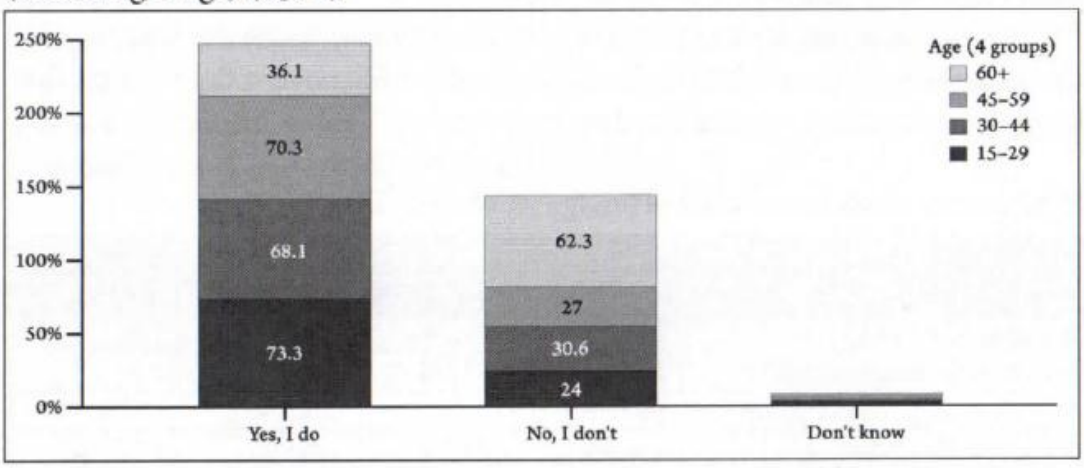
| | Gester | Dickins | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | Yes | No | Don't know |
| **It began after 1989** | 58.2% | 79.9% | 8.1% | 12% |
| **It enhances understanding** | 42.8% | 51.2% | 25.8% | 23% |
| **It is a young person's thing** | 40.2% | 72.4% | 21.9% | 5.7% |
| **It makes life easier** | 36.6% | 38.2% | 44.9% | 17% |
| **It is bad for Czech** | 27.3% | 54.1% | 35% | 11% |
| **It enriches Czech** | 24.7% | 20.5% | 68.9% | 10.6% |
| **It should be minimised** | 21.6% | 41.7% | 38.9% | 19.4% |
| **It threatens the national culture** | 17.5% | 35.3% | 44.5% | 20.1% |
| **It is a matter for specialists** | 8.2% | 32.9% | 47.7% | 19.4% |
| **It should be regulated by law** | 1.5% | 7.4% | 70% | 22.6% |

Nearly all Czech speakers feel some degree of inadequacy when it comes to vocabulary from other languages. When asked how often foreign terms cause them problems in their everyday life, 54.1% said 'sometimes', 26.9% replied 'frequently' and 4.6% responded 'all the time' (that is, 85.6% of the total). Almost half (45.9%) of Dickins' over-60s, and slightly fewer of those with basic (or less) education, claimed to encounter difficulties on a regular or constant basis. In Gester's

[38] The interviewees may have inferred from the formulation of the direct questions that an affirmative response was somehow expected.

questionnaire, 65.8% likewise said that borrowing is 'sometimes' problematic, while 20.7% reckoned to struggle 'frequently' with loanwords (that is, 86.5% of the total). Only 34.8% of Dickins' informants maintained that they do not need a better understanding of foreign words, versus 63% who assessed their comprehension as inadequate. Interestingly, the latter figure included 78.1% of graduates and 73.3% of 15–29 year-olds – the groups which, in theory, already have most contact with foreign languages and the best level of knowledge. This universal acknowledgement of the problem of the intelligibility of loanwords suggests that there is a strong rational basis for people's concern over the separating function of lexical borrowing.

**Do you feel that you need a better understanding of foreign words? (according to age) (Q. 34)**




Over 90% of the informants always, usually or sometimes ask someone else if they do not understand a foreign term, while 62.2% consult a dictionary of foreign words, 49.1% refer to a bilingual dictionary, and 42.4% look at a monolingual Czech dictionary. More than a third never use written sources to establish the meaning of a borrowed word, and only 30.4% take advantage of a search engine, but this figure includes 55.1% of 15–19 year-olds and 48.7% of 20–29 year-olds. Graduates are the most inclined to consult all forms of printed dictionaries, but those with secondary education are more likely to employ electronic media. In Gester's sample, 51% asserted that they have first recourse to a foreign dictionary, while 42% would rather ask someone else (although she does not appear to have made other options available to them). Like Gester, Tejnor asked his interviewees to place the importance of different sources in rank order – 54% said that they relied most on dictionaries of foreign words; 28% referred to the role of the press, radio and television, and 6% sought help at school, and through courses and study manuals.

Methods of establishing the meaning of foreign words (Q. 35)

| | Always | Usually | Sometimes | Never | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Ask someone** | 28 (9.9%) | 112 (39.6%) | 118 (41.7%) | 24 (8.5%) | 1 (0.4%) |
| **Consult dictionary of foreign words** | 28 (9.9%) | 63 (22.3%) | 85 (30%) | 105 (37.1%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| **Consult monolingual Czech dictionary** | 6 (2.1%) | 33 (11.7%) | 81 (28.6%) | 160 (56.5%) | 3 (1.1%) |
| **Consult bilingual dictionary** | 14 (4.9%) | 54 (19.1%) | 71 (25.1%) | 142 (50.2%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| **Consult foreign language dictionary** | 6 (2.1%) | 14 (4.9%) | 34 (12%) | 226 (79.9%) | 3 (1.1%) |
| **Consult electronic dictionary** | 8 (2.8%) | 30 (10.6%) | 36 (12.7%) | 207 (73.1%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| **Consult different type of dictionary*** | 2 (0.7%) | 10 (3.5%) | 3 (1.1%) | 229 (80.9%) | 36 (12.7%) |
| **Consult reference work*** | 7 (2.5%) | 19 (6.7%) | 51 (18%) | 194 (68.6%) | 9 (3.2%) |
| **Use search engine*** | 6 (2.1%) | 37 (13.1%) | 43 (15.2%) | 187 (66.1%) | 7 (2.5%) |
| **Use a different method*** | 5 (1.8%) | 16 (5.7%) | 6 (2.1%) | 132 (46.6%) | 121 (42.8%) |

* Excludes 'no replies'.

The linguistic domain which poses greatest difficulties to Czech speakers is modern technology. If Dickins' missing data are excluded, 67.3% of all informants asserted that technological terms constantly or frequently present problems. As a general rule, the better informed people are, the more they feel that they need access to foreign terminology for personal and professional development. Over half (51.7%) of all the graduates in 'Perceptions' identified loanwords in specialist areas of study as a particular cause of concern, whereas only 30.6% of the interviewees with incomplete secondary education said the same. A majority in all educational and age groups agreed that they often or always had difficulties with lexical imports in the field of technology, but the figures varied from 79.3% for informants with degrees to 64.2% for those with incomplete secondary education, and from 76.2% for the 15–29 year-olds to 56.9% for the over-60 year-olds. 48.6% maintained that they constantly or regularly encounter problems when reading the press, but this number included 72.5% of the over-60s, compared with just 36.5% of the 15–29 age range. The 60+ year-olds are also the most exercised by the prevalence of lexical borrowing on television, with 45.1% saying that it frequently or invariably impedes their understanding.

Only 21.3% and 10.9% of the sample felt that bureaucracy and fiction, respectively, cause them problems frequently or all the time. In Tejnor's survey, 51% of the informants said that lexical borrowing in the media posed the greatest difficulty, compared with 25% who specified bureaucracy as the principal area of concern, 19% who identified specialist study, and 5% who stated reading fiction.

**How often do foreign words cause you problems in the following circumstances?*** (Q. 37)

| | When reading the press? | When using technology? | When watching the television? | When dealing with bureaucracy? | In specialist areas of study? | When reading fiction? |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **All the time** | 6.3% | 14.6% | 2.9% | 2.1% | 3.8% | 1.7% |
| **Frequently** | 42.3% | 52.7% | 32.2% | 19.2% | 33.9% | 9.2% |
| **Sometimes** | 47.3% | 17.6% | 53.1% | 43.5% | 28.5% | 40.6% |
| **They don't** | 3.8% | 1.7% | 11.3% | 28.5% | 7.1% | 31.4% |
| **Don't know** | 0.4% | 13.4% | 0.4% | 6.7% | 26.8% | 17.2% |

* Expressed in terms of 'valid percentages' (with missing data excluded).

Attitudes to language use in the broadcast media remain ambiguous, with Czechs frequently making a distinction between programmes aimed at native speakers of other languages and those intended for domestic consumption. Most people are not opposed to foreign language broadcasting per se, as evidenced by the fact that 49.8% of the interviewees in 'Perceptions' claimed to listen to foreign radio stations or to watch foreign television channels.[39] However, there is a significant degree of concern over foreign influences on the output provided for ordinary Czechs. Nearly half (48.4%) of Dickins' informants were critical of the number of foreign songs played by the Czech media, and 53% thought that Czech television shows too many imported programmes. Moreover, 66.1% of those questioned in 'Perceptions', and 78% in a more recent European Union poll, expressed a preference for dubbing over sub-titles – well above the EU average of 56% (and second highest after Hungary).[40] It seems unlikely

[39] Viewing figures to some extent reflect the range of channels available, with 40% of those who watch foreign television every week tuning into German language stations, 35.5% into Slovak and 28.4% into English.

[40] *Europeans and their Languages*. Prague: Special Eurobarometer, 2006, p. 11. <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_sum_en.pdf>

that objections to the quality of the imports can fully account for the opposition to the internationalisation of the Czech media, given the popularity of derivative, lowbrow Czech productions such as the reality show *VyVolení*. Nor do generational factors altogether explain the level of concern. Even if the disproportionate number of over 60 year-olds opposed to foreign programmes – 70.5% – is disregarded altogether, it still leaves 47.8% of Czechs unhappy with the quantity of imports. The rejection of sub-titles may partly reflect the Czechs' long-standing tradition of dubbing, which may be cheaper for the distributors and less demanding for the viewer, but it does not adequately account for the strength of people's feelings. It would appear that, at least at a sub-conscious level, there is a desire to keep the broadcast media 'Czech'. Television viewing is an integral part both of family life and of the nation's shared experience, and many Czechs seemingly want the medium to reflect this distinctiveness and commonality. Dubbing, in particular, serves to mitigate the sense of foreignness, and increases the cultural accessibility and acceptability of programmes made abroad.

Given the importance of English in globalisation, and the pre-eminence of Anglicisms as a source of lexical innovation, Czechs might reasonably be expected to discern a challenge to their linguistic autonomy from the English-speaking world. Yet, only 29.3% of the informants in 'Perceptions' felt that English poses a threat to Czech. Over half (56.2%) claimed to be unconcerned by the influence of English, including 75% of those who boast a very good grasp of the language, and 76.2% of those with passive skills. Once again there is a broad correlation between people's responses and their age and education, with the elderly and less well educated generally more inclined to identify a potential threat from English; although in no sub-group does this figure exceed 40%. The status of English as a vehicle for international communication and as a major lexifier is now largely accepted in Czech society. A vast majority of Dickins' sample (89.4%) considered it a disadvantage not to know English, including all except one of the 29 interviewees aged 15–19, and 155 of the 178 non-English speakers (87.1%). English combines prestige, relative linguistic accessibility and a functional importance which renders any ideological objections impotent. When Czechs were asked in a Special Eurobarometer poll which two foreign languages their children should learn, 89% cited English amongst their first two, while 66% named German.[41]

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[accessed October 14, 2007]. The poll was conducted by TNS Aisa in November/December 2005, and was based on 1,029 interviewees.

[41] *Europeans and their Languages*. Prague: Special Eurobarometer, 2006, pp. 8–10. <http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_sum_en.pdf> [accessed 14 October, 2007]. The figures for the other languages proposed are not stated.

English is regarded as the most suitable donor language by 57.4% of the sample, including 76.3% of the 15–29 year-olds, 68.8% of graduates and 87.5% of those with a very good knowledge of English. Of the 62 informants who deemed English unsuitable, 21 were aged over 60 (that is, 35% of all informants in this age range), and 49 had no English language skills (27.7% of this sub-group). No other language was viewed as favourably as English, although marginally more people considered Latin and Greek to be suitable than unsuitable – 37.2% versus 32.6%. Attitudes to German were strongly polarised, with 38.7% deeming it appropriate, including 57.4% of the 20–29 age group and 63.2% of those who speak the language very well, but with 40.4% regarding it as inappropriate, including 48.3% of the over-60 year-olds. The decline in anti-German sentiment amongst younger Czechs appears to reflect a broader trend in society, in which German is increasingly seen as the language of three important trading partners rather than in its more traditional adversarial role. A similar reevaluation of Russian (whose status has been more ambiguous than that of German) and of other non-Slavonic languages may likewise be taking place. Amongst the under-30s, 31.6% were in favour of borrowing from Russian (as opposed to 24.8% overall), while other non-Slavonic languages enjoyed an approval rating of 40.8% in the same age range (as against 27.7% overall, and just 13.3% amongst the over-60s).

The younger generation, graduates and good linguists are generally much more inclined to embrace lexical innovation from a variety of foreign sources than their elder, less well educated and less linguistically competent compatriots. Unfortunately, Tejnor's findings on this question only bear direct comparison in the case of the classical languages and German, since he adopted the policy of linking English with other west European languages and Russian with other Slavonic languages (including Slovak), presumably out of political expediency. Suffice it to say, Latin and Greek were regarded as suitable by 60% of his sample and as unsuitable by 22%, while German was endorsed as a lexifier by just 21% of his interviewees and rejected by 65%. Opinions on the appropriateness of the Slavonic languages and west European languages in 1970 were more evenly divided, with 34% and 30%, respectively, for, and 48% and 46% against.

**The suitability of foreign languages as lexifiers (excluding 'No replies') (Q. 54)**

| | Tejnor | | | Dickins | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Suitable | Not suitable | Don't know | Suitable | Not suitable | Don't know |
| **Greek/Latin** | 60% | 22% | 18% | 37.2% | 32.6% | 30.1% |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **German** | 21% | 65% | 14% | 38.7% | 40.4% | 20.9% |
| **English** | 30% | 48% | 22% | 57.4% | 22% | 20.6% |
| **Other non-Slav. European** | | | | 27.7% | 40% | 32.3% |
| **Russian** | 34% | 46% | 20% | 24.8% | 46.1% | 29.1% |
| **Other Slavonic language** | | | | 33.7% | 38.7% | 27.7% |
| **Other world language** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 8.9% | 61.9% | 29.2% |

While the change in the perception of the suitability of German, from 21% to 38.7%, may reflect the significant improvement in Czech–German relations, the relatively high percentage in favour of other Slavonic languages (33.77%) is almost entirely attributable to Slovak.[42] Attitudes to Latin and Greek have changed as a result of the decline in the teaching of classical languages – only 38 (13.4%) of the informants had studied Latin and just one had studied Ancient Greek.[43] The current perceptions of English as a lexifier reflect its popularity as a foreign language. It was identified as the favourite foreign language by 81.3% of those who have achieved fluency in it and as one of the two favourite foreign languages by 32.8% of all those questioned, including 74.2% of 15–19 year-olds, and it was viewed more positively even than Slovak amongst the under 29 year-olds.

**To which two languages do you relate most positively and negatively? (Q. 4–5)**

| | Positive responses | | Negative responses | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | First language | Second language | First language | Second language |
| **No reply** | | 80 (28.8%) | | 109 (38.5%) |
| **Slovak** | 102 (36%) | 32 (11.3%) | 2 (0.7%) | 1 (0.4%) |
| **Polish** | 10 (3.5%) | 18 (6.4%) | 2 (0.7%) | 1 (0.4%) |
| **Russian** | 6 (2.1%) | 27 (9.5%) | 21 (7.4%) | 14 (4.9%) |
| **Romani** | 1 (0.4%) | | 73 (25.8%) | 45 (15.5%) |

[42] Such is the linguistic proximity of Slovak to Czech that, in a follow-up survey to 'Perceptions', 'The Czechs and Slovaks', undertaken for the author by the CVVM in September 2007, and based on 1,126 informants nationwide, opinion was almost equally divided as to whether there is a greater difference between East Moravian dialect and standard Czech or East Moravian dialect and Slovak.

[43] There were just 12,682 secondary-school pupils studying Latin and Greek in 2006. See *Vývojová ročenka Školství v ČR: B6.2.3 Střední školy (G, SOŠ, SOU) – žáci učící se cizí jazyky ve školním roce 2000/01 až 2005/06*. Prague: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání. <http://www.uiv.cz/clanek/586/1297> [accessed 12 March, 2007].

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Other Slavonic** | 2 (0.7%) | 3 (1.1%) | 3 (1.1%) | 7 (2.5%) |
| **English** | 57 (20.1%) | 36 (12.7%) | 5 (1.8%) | 3 (1.1%) |
| **French** | 20 (7.1%) | 28 (9.9%) | 7 (2.5%) | 4 (1.4%) |
| **Spanish** | 1 (0.4%) | 4 (1.4%) | | 2 (0.7%) |
| **Italian** | 6 (2.1%) | 19 (6.7%) | 3 (1.1%) | 4 (1.4%) |
| **German** | 24 (8.5%) | 33 (11.7%) | 35 (12.4%) | 21 (12.1%) |
| **Non-European** | 1 (0.4%) | | 46 (16.3%) | 26 (9.2%) |
| **Other non-Slav. European** | | 3 (1.1%) | 59 (20.8%) | 46 (16.3%) |
| **Not interested** | 42 (14.8%) | | 20 (7.1%) | |
| **Don't know** | 11 (3.9%) | | | |

English has a modish quality amongst young people, which is inextricably linked to its status as *the* global means of communication, and is generally assumed to be underpinned by the status of the USA as *the* world superpower. The vast majority of Dickins' informants asserted that tourism, globalisation and American culture actively promote borrowing – 90.5%, 83.8% and 80.6%, respectively. Nearly three-quarters (74.6%) also felt that European culture (in which the role of English is consolidated by native speakers in Britain and Ireland) contributes to lexical innovation. However, to some extent these factors may be offset by the strength of Czech culture and traditions, which were thought to hinder borrowing by 68.8% of the informants. For many Czechs, the non-rational motivations of linguistic heritage and language identity appear to underpin more rational, functionally motivated sociolinguistic objections to profligacy with foreign terms.

**The impact of different factors on borrowing (Q. 32)**

| | Definitely promotes it | Tends to promotes it | Tends to hinder it | Definitely hinders it | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Globalisation** | 142 (50.2%) | 95 (33.6%) | 6 (2.1%) | 0 (0%) | 40 (14.1%) |
| **Tourism** | 116 (41%) | 140 (49.5%) | 7 (2.5%) | 1 (0.4%) | 19 (6.7%) |
| **Czech culture & traditions** | 7 (2.5%) | 53 (18.7%) | 161 (56.9%) | 28 (9.9%) | 34 (12%) |
| **European culture** | 50 (17.7%) | 161 (56.9%) | 27 (9.5%) | 1 (0.4%) | 44 (15.5%) |
| **American culture** | 138 (48.8%) | 90 (31.8%) | 7 (2.5%) | 0 (0%) | 48 (17%) |
| **Other factors promoting it** | 38 (13.4%) | 29 (10.2%) | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 216 (76.3%) |
| **Other factors hindering it** | 0 (0%) | 0 (0%) | 16 (5.7%) | 26 (9.2%) | 241 (85.2%) |

Most Czechs not only consider that their language contains a surfeit of borrowing, but they are inclined to blame other people for the existing state of affairs. When asked how often they encountered speakers or writers who used an excessive number of foreign terms, 43% of Tejnor's informants replied 'frequently', 51% said 'sometimes', and only 6% responded 'never'. Tejnor calculated that 10% of his interviewees had a broadly positive view of those Czechs who employed more loanwords than necessary, while 8% were neutral, 18% expressed a negative attitude without resentment, and 56% felt resentful. In 'Perceptions', 73.5% similarly maintained that their fellow Czechs sometimes or often used unnecessary loanwords in their everyday speech, while just 17.3% disagreed. Amongst the over 60 year-olds, 52.5% said that they were frequently exposed to superfluous vocabulary from other languages, whereas only 18.4% of the 15–29 year-olds shared this view. The role of education is more difficult to interpret, as those with just secondary schooling were the least inclined to regard the use of foreign expressions as excessive. However, good foreign language speakers, especially English speakers, were generally more accepting of loanwords than Czechs with limited or no foreign language skills. Only 12.5% of fluent English speakers thought that their compatriots often employ redundant borrowings, compared with 42.7% of non-speakers of English. These figures contrast with 31.6% and 36.7%, respectively, in the case of German speakers.

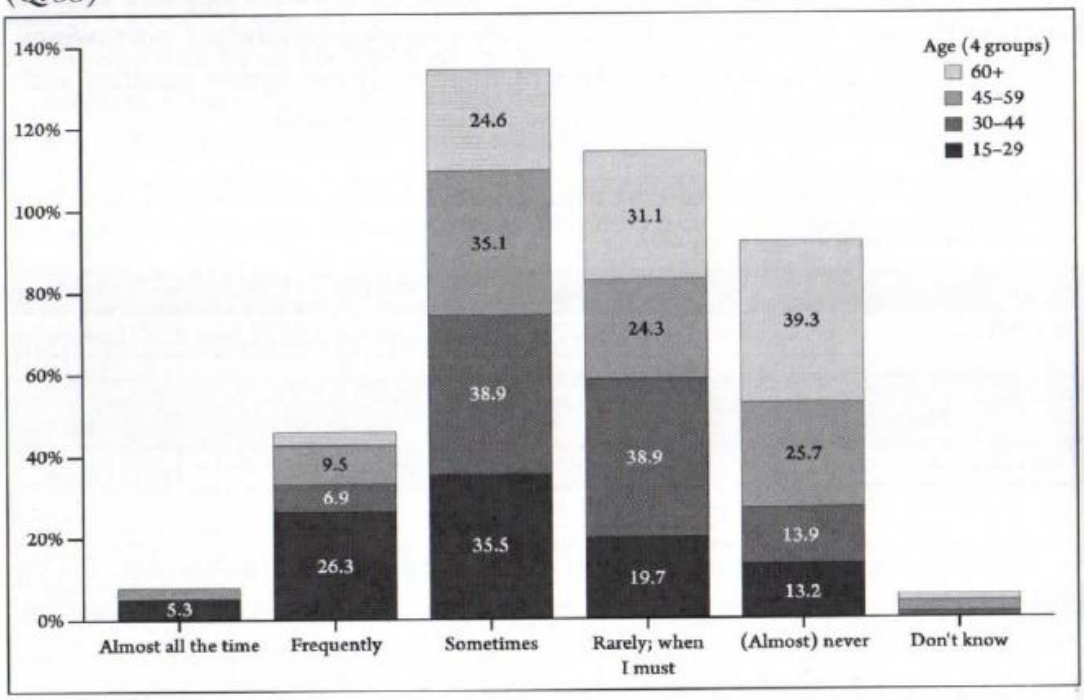
**Do you think that people use too many superfluous foreign words in everyday speech? (according to age) (Q. 20)**

| | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes, often** | 14 (18.4%) | 26 (36.1%) | 25 (33.8%) | 32 (52.5%) | 97 (34.3%) |
| **Yes, sometimes** | 33 (43.4%) | 28 (38.9%) | 33 (44.6%) | 17 (27.9%) | 111 (39.2%) |
| **No, they don't** | 18 (23.7%) | 13 (18.1%) | 11 (14.9%) | 7 (11.5%) | 49 (17.3%) |
| **Don't know** | 11 (14.5%) | 5 (6.9%) | 5 (6.8%) | 5 (8.2%) | 26 (9.2%) |

Significantly, when quizzed about their own linguistic behaviour, 50.3% claimed that they '(almost) never' or 'seldom' use loanwords in everyday conversation, compared with 33.9% who responded 'sometimes', 12% who said 'frequently' and 2.1% who admitted to doing so 'almost all the time'. In Tejnor's study, 62% maintained that they 'rarely' (or, by implication perhaps, hardly ever) borrowed from other languages, while 36% 'sometimes' or 'frequently' had recourse to non-indigenous lexical items. Both Dickins and Tejnor found the

elderly and least well educated to be especially disinclined to employ loanwords, but the correlation between education and usage was much less clear-cut in Dickins' survey. This is partly attributable to the overall improvement in foreign language acquisition – 43.8% of the informants in 'Perceptions' with a very good knowledge of English claimed to use imported terms 'frequently'. Only 3.3% of the over 60s regularly or constantly employed the vocabulary of other languages, whereas the figure rises to 48.3% amongst informants aged 15–19. In 1970, 40% of the 25–39 year-olds and 36% of the 40–50 year-olds, respectively, at least 'sometimes' used foreign terminology,[44] whereas just 27.9% of today's equivalent cohort – the over-60s – claim to do so. In other words, while each new generation of young people finds foreign neologisms indispensable, their grandparents join the ranks of those who claim to reject this form of linguistic innovation. This trend appears to be universal, and suggests that any survey of attitudes to lexical change should ideally combine a synchronic approach with diachronic perspectives.

**How often do you use foreign words in everyday conversation? (according to age) (Q. 33)**




[44] Even fewer – just 18% – of the over 55 year-olds said that they used loanwords, but most of these informants are unlikely still to be alive.

Very few of Dickins' interviewees identified imported lexical items as strong solidarity markers, which indicates that words that Czechs think of as 'foreign' have not acquired the covert prestige associated, in particular, with youth slang. The consensus, even amongst the young, is that superfluous loanwords sound excessively stylised and pretentious. Over two-thirds (67.9%) of all the informants identified the desire to show off as one of the two main motivations for using foreign vocabulary. The strength of opposition to ostentatious displays of lexical borrowing would appear to be more than merely an affective reaction. It also suggests an awareness of an element of linguistic manipulation or subterfuge, which is intended to mark the speaker out as different to and perhaps even 'better' than other language users. The choice of a foreign expression may thus represent a deliberate attempt to limit intelligibility to a self-selecting group.

The other principal reasons cited for lexical borrowing were the influences of fashion (21.6%), the media (21.4%), global change (16.8%), the lack of a Czech equivalent (12.1%), and technology (9.5%). The associations of foreign neologisms with modernity and progress sometimes prove irresistible, even when a new term is not strictly required to compensate for a lexical deficiency. Dickins' informants were almost certainly correct in the importance that they accorded to the media and globalisation in the introduction and consolidation of loanwords, although they might have understated the role of technology (both as a source of and as a medium for lexical innovation). In the absence of a major corpus-based study of the functions of foreign vocabulary, it is to difficult to evaluate the extent to which borrowing meets an objective need, but the interviewees were probably right not to assume that loanwords still serve primarily to fill lexical gaps. The co-existence of a large number of semantically identical expressions, such as *hob(b)y/koníček* and *hvězda/star*, reinforces the impression that many foreign terms are surplus to requirement. Occasionally a single loanword might be preferred to a Czech phrase on the grounds of succinctness, but there is nothing inherently better about, say, *holding* than *kapitálové sdružení* or *multiplex* than *vícesálové kino*.

Unfortunately, it is not easy to identify a clear correlation between the major dependent variables and people's interpretation of the motivations for usage. However, it should be noted that the over-30s were especially inclined to accentuate the role of the media and the modishness of foreign terms, while a large proportion of the 15–19 year-olds referred to individual characteristics (16.7%), unfamiliarity with an appropriate Czech phrase (23.8%), context (23.8%), and the absence of Czech alternatives (33.3%), respectively.

Why do people use a lot of foreign words? (according to age) (Q. 21)

| | | 15–19 | 20–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **To show off etc.** | 1st | 50% | 33.3% | 39.6% | 39.7% | 45.8% | 40.8% |
| | 2nd | 16.7% | 38.9% | 19.4% | 32.4% | 24.1% | 27.1% |
| **To seem intelligent** | 1st | 7.1% | 3% | 3.8% | 3.4% | 0% | 2.9% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 5.6% | 3.2% | 2.9% | 3.4% | 3.4% |
| **To show affiliation** | 1st | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2.1% | 0.5% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 3.4% | 0.8% |
| **It's fashionable** | 1st | 14.3% | 3% | 20.8% | 10.3% | 14.6% | 13.1% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 11.1% | 6.5% | 8.8% | 10.3% | 8.5% |
| **It's a personal trait** | 1st | 0% | 3% | 0% | 1.7% | 2.1% | 1.5% |
| | 2nd | 16.7% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0.8% |
| **Terms are adopted** | 1st | 7.1% | 12.1% | 7.5% | 6.9% | 0% | 6.3% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 0% | 3.2% | 2.9% | 0% | 1.7% |
| **In the interest of precision** | 1st | 7.1% | 6.1% | 1.9% | 5.2% | 2.1% | 3.9% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 0% | 3.2% | 2.9% | 0% | 1.7% |
| **Czech has no phrase** | 1st | 0% | 15.2% | 5.7% | 1.7% | 4.2% | 5.3% |
| | 2nd | 33.3% | 0% | 12.9% | 2.9% | 3.4% | 6.8% |
| **Don't know the Czech** | 1st | 7.1% | 0% | 1.9% | 3.4% | 0% | 1.9% |
| | 2nd | 16.7% | 0% | 6.5% | 2.9% | 6.9% | 5.1% |
| **Due to technology** | 1st | 0% | 6.1% | 1.9% | 6.9% | 4.2% | 4.4% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 0% | 0% | 11.8% | 6.9% | 5.1% |
| **Due to media etc.** | 1st | 0% | 6.1% | 11.3% | 6.9% | 8.3% | 7.8% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 0% | 16.1% | 17.6% | 17.2% | 13.6% |
| **Due to global change** | 1st | 0% | 0% | 3.8% | 6.9% | 8.3% | 4.9% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 11.1% | 19.4% | 5.9% | 13.8% | 11.9% |
| **It's personal choice** | 1st | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 2.1% | 0.5% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 5.6% | 3.2% | 5.9% | 0% | 3.4% |
| **Depends on context** | 1st | 7.1% | 30% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 1% |
| | 2nd | 16.7% | 5.6% | 6.5% | 0% | 0% | 3.4% |
| **Different reply** | 1st | 0% | 6.1% | 1.9% | 3.4% | 2.1% | 2.9% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 16.7% | 0% | 2.9% | 10.3% | 5.9% |
| **Don't know** | 1st | 0% | 3% | 0% | 3.4% | 4.2% | 2.4% |
| | 2nd | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 0% |

'Perceptions' confirms that, except in special circumstances, Czechs generally express (at least a theoretical) preference for 'indigenous' lexical items over loanwords. Just 7.8% of Dickins' informants claimed that they would normally choose the foreign term, while 28.6% said that it depends on context, and 55.8%

opted for standard Czech usage. Here again attitudes correlate closely to age, with 75.4% of the over-60s preferring the Czech phrase, compared with 32.9% of the 15–29 year-olds. The importance of context (identified by George Thomas as 'social factors') was recognised by 42.1% of the 15–29 age range, but by only 14.8% of the 60+ year-olds. When asked to specify their attitudes to foreign words based on a list of domains (including several broadly identified by Tejnor, but with additional examples reflecting changes in society), there was a greater acceptance of the role of context. Tejnor and Dickins highlighted two common areas where borrowing is felt to be particularly problematic: everyday conversation (opposed by 64% of Tejnor's and 54.4% of Dickins' informants), and political and public life (Tejnor: 47%, Dickins: 58.7%). Tejnor further identified strong objections to loanwords in economic matters (47%), while Dickins observed significant concern in the field of advertising (47.4%). Views on popular culture were mixed, with 33% of Tejnor's and 52% of Dickins' interviewees admitting reservations, and 49% and 53%, respectively, reconciled to foreign influences.

While prescriptive sentiments appear to prevail in certain domains, there is no evidence that they represent a systematic or concerted opposition to modern society or progress in general, as they did in the First Republic. In his famous study of Czech purism, 'O dnešním brusičství českém', Roman Jakobson noted a rift between language and the reality of the world in which Czech speakers were living.[45] Most of Tejnor's and Dickins' sample were unperturbed by the use of imported vocabulary in technology (and computing), healthcare (and beauty), and sport (and leisure-time activities). Dickins' informants were also quite sanguine about borrowed terminology in the workplace, with 57.9% registering little concern over its prevalence in trade and business, and 50.2% finding it broadly acceptable in other areas of work. In every category identified, the over-60s expressed the greatest misgivings about loanwords, and the under-29s were the least worried. Nearly two-thirds of all Dickins' graduates (62.5%) were occupied by the impact of foreign terms on political and public life, while those interviewees with incomplete secondary schooling and/or training recorded the highest overall level of opposition of any educational group to borrowing in the domains specified. The former may be articulating their distaste at the manipulation of language for ideological ends, while the latter would appear to be acknowledging a more profound sense of linguistic disadvantage.

[45] Jakobson. *O dnešním brusičství českém*. p. 121.

**Attitudes to the use of foreign words in specific domains (Q. 28)**[46]

| | Tejnor | | | Dickins | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | I object | I don't object | I don't know/ care | Degree of concern | | | | | |
| | | | | A lot | A little | Not much | None at all | Don't care | Don't know |
| **Everyday conversation** | 64% | 31% | 5% | 19.4% | 35% | 31.4% | 9.9% | 2.1% | 2.1% |
| **Political & public life** | 47% | 38% | 15% | 16.3% | 42.4% | 29.3% | 6.7% | 3.5% | 1.8% |
| **Trade & business** | 47% | 42% | 11% | 9.9% | 20.8% | 46.6% | 11.3% | 6.7% | 4.6% |
| **Other areas of work** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 5.7% | 17.7% | 40.3% | 9.9% | 9.9% | 16.6% |
| **Advertising** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 19.1% | 28.3% | 30% | 12.4% | 8.1% | 2.1% |
| **Sport, hobbies & travel** | 29% | 53% | 14% | 7.4% | 21.6% | 44.5% | 15.9% | 2.8% | 7.8% |
| **Popular culture** | 33% | 49% | 22% | 12.7% | 29.3% | 36.4% | 16.6% | 2.1% | 2.8% |
| **Beauty & healthcare** | 18% | 75% | 7% | 9.5% | 24.4% | 33.2% | 12.7% | 9.9% | 0% |
| **Technology & computing** | 12% | 75% | 13% | 4.2% | 9.5% | 38.2% | 32.2% | 11.3% | 4.6% |

The relative legitimacy and prevalence of loanwords is determined by a complex interaction of different factors, including individual perspectives and experiences, the nature of the discourse, the context of the utterance, and political and socio-economic developments. Absolute word frequency may not always be the most reliable indication of usage, due to the abundance of short-lived modish terms in journalese and popular culture, and the high degree of repetition of technical jargon in specialist domains, such as computing. Nor does an approach based entirely on people's self-perceptions necessarily guarantee more than a snapshot of opinion at a particular point in time. One way of supplementing the forms of synchronic data gathered in 'Perceptions' was to ask informants to state how they felt other groups of people react to lexical borrowing. While this might seem to be a rather subjective methodology, it yields a very uniform set of results which appears to demonstrate a metalinguistic cognition that may go beyond mere stereotyping.

[46] The wording of Tejnor's domains was: 'Everyday speech about non-specialist subjects', 'Politics and public life', 'The economy', 'Sport', 'Modern popular music', 'Health' and 'Technology'. Dickins' precise descriptors were 'Definitely concerned', 'Somewhat concerned', 'Not really concerned', 'Not at all concerned', 'Don't care' and 'Don't know'.

Most Czechs have a very clear idea of how their compatriots regard foreign terms. Amongst Gester's informants who felt there are too many Anglicisms in Czech, 27% attributed greatest responsibility to advertisers, 20% to business people, 17% to the young and 16% to journalists. Dickins' interviewees were likewise virtually unanimous in their opinion that the younger generation, the media, politicians, advertisers and business people are in favour of imported terms, while the elderly tend to be opposed. Fewer than 5% of those questioned in 'Perceptions' challenged the consensus in respect of any of the afore-mentioned groups. A majority also considered the middle-aged and academics to be well disposed towards borrowing – 64% and 68.2%, respectively. Only in the case of teachers were perceptions significantly divided, with 43.1% considering them in favour of loanwords, and 29% against, but with just 10.3% attributing strongly held convictions to them. This sense of equivocation, underlined by the fact that 27.6% of the interviewees were unable to pass any judgement, may bear testimony to the ambivalence of the teachers' situation. On the one hand, teachers are charged with maintaining the standards of the written and spoken language; on the other, they recognise the increasing importance of foreign lexicons (without needing to draw on them to the same extent as academics).

The degree of metalinguistic awareness of the general public is reflected in the close correspondence between the self-evaluation of the young, the middle-aged and the elderly, and the impression of Dickins' sample as a whole. In 'Perceptions', 98.9% of the 15–29 year-olds, and 98.6% across all age ranges, asserted that young people are in favour of loanwords, while 93.4% of the over-60s, and 92.6% of all informants, stated that the elderly are opposed. Similarly, academics were felt to be in favour of borrowing by almost exactly the same proportion of graduates (the group best acquainted with lecturers in higher education) as non-graduates – 71.9% versus 72.5%. Given the weight of the opinion expressed in the survey, there seems little doubt that advertisers, politicians and people in the media do, indeed, have a particularly strong penchant for the foreign idiom. Paradoxically, the current initiators of lexical change thus include the type of influential public figures who might have traditionally seen themselves as the guardians of language purity. Moreover, they are all in professions which are not necessarily held in the highest esteem by much of the population[47]; thereby contributing to the impression that the associations of loanwords are not altogether positive.

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[47] See, for example, Naděžda Čadová-Horáková. *Důvěra k ústavním institucím a spokojenost s politickou situací*. 25 June, 2006. <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/

Perceptions of how other groups of people view loanwords (Q. 31)

| | Definitely in favour | Tend to be in favour | Tend to be against | Definitely against | Don't Know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Young people** | 168 (59.4%) | 111 (39.2%) | 1 (0.4%) | 0 (0%) | 3 (1.1%) |
| **Middle-aged people** | 17 (6%) | 164 (58%) | 84 (29.7%) | 1 (0.4%) | 17 (6%) |
| **The older generation** | 3 (1.1%) | 8 (2.8%) | 159 (56.2%) | 103 (36.4%) | 10 (3.5%) |
| **People in the media** | 127 (44.9%) | 134 (47.3%) | 10 (3.5%) | 2 (0.7%) | 10 (3.5%) |
| **Politicians** | 123 (43.5%) | 131 (46.3%) | 6 (2.1%) | 3 (1.1%) | 20 (7.1%) |
| **Advertisers** | 179 (63.3%) | 87 (30.7%) | 2 (0.7%) | 0 (0%) | 15 (5.3%) |
| **Business people** | 101 (35.7%) | 152 (53.7%) | 5 (1.8%) | 0 (0%) | 25 (8.8%) |
| **Academics** | 102 (36%) | 91 (32.2%) | 24 (8.5%) | 2 (0.7%) | 64 (22.6%) |
| **Teachers*** | 18 (6.4%) | 104 (36.7%) | 71 (25.1%) | 11 (3.9%) | 78 (27.6%) |
| **Others in favour** | 30 (10.6%) | 26 (9.2%) | n/a | n/a | 227 (80.2%) |
| **Others against** | n/a | n/a | 22 (7.8%) | 27 (9.5%) | 234 (82.7%) |

* Excludes 'no reply'

Even if the users of loanwords are sometimes subject to the opprobrium of their fellow Czechs, the need for foreign terminology continues to be quite widely appreciated. When asked if they considered borrowing to be necessary, 46.3% of Dickins' informants identified it as essential, while just 38.5% felt that Czech should always look for indigenous terms, compared with Tejnor's figures of 48% and 33%, respectively. The young and the better educated are the most strongly persuaded of the need for foreign lexical items, with 60.5% of the 15–29 year-olds and 59.4% of graduates deeming them indispensable. By contrast, only 35.8% of those with incomplete secondary education and 29.5% of the over-60 age range saw borrowing as imperative. However, when asked the more specific question "Is it worth looking for indigenous phrases for established loanwords such as *internet* and *pizza*?", 61.1% said 'no', 25.1% responded 'yes', and 13.8% replied 'don't know'.[48] The reality is that people's theoretical objections to loanwords are not always matched by their reactions to particular examples, and nor is there the

zpravy/100585s_pi60525.pdf> [accessed 11 June, 2007], and Jan Červenka. *Důvěra k některým institucím veřejného života*. 15 June, 2007. <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/100685s_po70515.pdf> [accessed 11 June, 2007].

[48] An even smaller number of informants (7%) in Tejnor's study said that they would seek alternatives for nativised loanwords such as *televize, motor, kino* and *profesor*.

usual predictable correlation between education or age and their responses. The less well educated and younger generation actually appeared more committed to the search for Czech alternatives than the better educated and older generation – 36.9% of those with basic (or less) education and 36.8% of the 15–29 year-olds expressed support for finding indigenous equivalents, compared with 18.2% of those with secondary education and 19.7% of the over-60s. Also worthy of note is the relatively high number of graduates (28.1%) who felt that Czech phrases should be sought.

**Is it worth looking for indigenous phrases for established loanwords such as *internet* and *pizza*? (according to education) (Q. 40)**

| | Basic or less | Incomplete secondary | Secondary | Higher education | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes, it is** | 24 (36.9%) | 24 (22%) | 14 (18.2%) | 9 (28.1%) | 71 (25.1%) |
| **No, it isn't** | 30 (46.2%) | 70 (64.2%) | 51 (66.2%) | 22 (68.8%) | 173 (61.1%) |
| **Don't know** | 11 (16.9%) | 15 (13.8%) | 12 (15.6%) | 1 (3.1%) | 39 (13.8%) |

**Is it worth looking for indigenous phrases for established loanwords such as *internet* and *pizza*? (according to age) (Q. 40)**

| | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Yes, it is** | 28 (36.8%) | 19 (26.4%) | 12 (16.2%) | 12 (19.7%) | 71 (25.1%) |
| **No, it isn't** | 40 (52.6%) | 44 (61.1%) | 51 (68.9%) | 38 (62.3%) | 173 (61.1%) |
| **Don't know** | 8 (10.5%) | 9 (12.5%) | 11 (14.9%) | 11 (18%) | 39 (13.8%) |

The theoretical preference for Czech words generally pertains where there is a straightforward choice between a Czech term and its foreign counterpart, unless the former is now regarded as old-fashioned or has a narrower or different semantic range. When asked 'Do you prefer internationalisms such as *aluminium* and *substantivum* (noun) or their Czech equivalents?', 65.7% opted for the Czech expression, 20.1% said that it depends on context, and just 5.7% chose the foreign form. Dickins' smaller survey, discussed in 'The Legacy and Limitations of Czech Purism', identified a similar number – 7.8% – favourably disposed towards loanwords in cases where semantic equivalents exist for well established Czech terms, as with *chipsy* and *brambůrky* (crisps). In Tejnor's study, 55% had expressed a preference for the Czech word, 29% had maintained that they used both (according to circumstances), and 13% had claimed that they consistently opted for the international variant.

From a mixed list of ten common synonymous doublets chosen for this survey, only *fotbal* and *sci-fi* were deemed more acceptable by a majority of Dickins' informants than their Czech forms. However, the younger informants and good linguists were much more inclined to opt for the foreign term than the Czech word in all cases where the loanword has already gained significant currency. The difference in the perceptions of the 15–19 year-olds and the over-60s was particularly striking, with the youngest age group showing a huge preference for *basket(bal)* (basketball) and *sci-fi* – 69% and 62.1%, respectively – and the oldest age range showing a similar predilection for the Czech equivalents, *košíková* and *vědecko-fantastický* – 63.9% and 62.3%, respectively. Even where context is seen to be a major determinant of usage, as in the case of the partial synonyms *dějiny* and *historie* (history), the same overall trend is discernible, with just 17.2% of the 15–19 year-olds choosing *dějiny*, compared to 47.5% of the over-60s. The correlation between education and choice of form is less obvious. However, a direct comparison of graduates and informants with incomplete secondary education suggests that the academic elite has a stronger tendency to use loanwords, except where they are overtly colloquial in style, as in the case of *párty* (party).

**Which of the following do you prefer? (Q. 39)**

| | Czech word | Foreign word | It depends | Don't care | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **kopaná/fotbal** | 66 (23.3%) | 160 (56.5%) | 34 (12%) | 22 (7.8%) | 1 (0.4%) |
| **košíková/basket(bal)** | 122 (43.1%) | 105 (37.1%) | 36 (12.7%) | 20 (7.1%) | n/a |
| **kulturistika/ bodybuilding** | 259 (91.5%) | 5 (1.8%) | 11 (3.9%) | 8 (2.8%) | n/a |
| **vědecko-fantastický/ sci-fi** | 101 (35.7%) | 112 (39.6%) | 52 (18.4%) | 14 (4.9%) | 4 (1.4%) |
| **vteřina/sekunda** | 143 (50.5%) | 61 (21.6%) | 59 (20.8%) | 18 (6.4%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| **výlučně/exklusivně** | 162 (57.2%) | 58 (20.5%) | 48 (17%) | 10 (3.5%) | 5 (1.8%) |
| **jazykověda/lingvistika** | 201 (71%) | 25 (8.8%) | 27 (9.5%) | 21 (7.4%) | 9 (3.2%) |
| **dějiny/historie** | 101 (35.7%) | 65 (23%) | 91 (32.2%) | 24 (8.5%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| **počítač/computer** | 203 (71.7%) | 35 (12.4%) | 32 (11.3%) | 11 (3.9%) | 2 (0.7%) |
| **večírek/párty** | 169 (59.7%) | 47 (16.6%) | 51 (18%) | 14 (4.9%) | 2 (0.7%) |

Which of the following do you prefer? (according to age and education) (Q. 39)

| | 15–19 | | 60+ | | Inc. secondary | | HE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Czech word | Foreign word | Czech word | Foreign word | Czech word | Foreign word | Czech word | Foreign word |
| **kopaná/fotbal** | 13.8% | 75.9% | 36.1% | 47.5% | 22.9% | 54.1% | 21.9% | 65.6% |
| **košíková/basket(bal)** | 20.7% | 69% | 63.9% | 19.7% | 48.6% | 29.4% | 37.5% | 46.9% |
| **vědecko-fantastický/ sci-fi** | 17.2% | 62.1% | 62.3% | 19.7% | 41.3% | 37.6% | 18.8% | 53.1% |
| **vteřina/sekunda** | 34.5% | 37.9% | 67.2% | 16.4% | 55% | 18.3% | 40.6% | 28.1% |
| **výlučně/exklusivně** | 31% | 44.8% | 80.3% | 3.3% | 63.3% | 19.3% | 56.3% | 18.8% |
| **dějiny/historie** | 17.2% | 27.6% | 47.5% | 23% | 43.1% | 15.6% | 25% | 31.3% |
| **večírek/párty** | 24.1% | 37.9% | 85.2% | 1.6% | 59.6% | 13.8% | 71.9% | 9.4% |

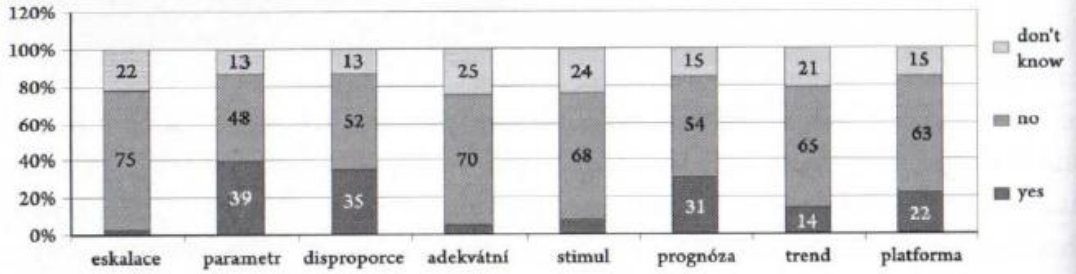
Calques such as *časovač* (timer) are generally felt to be preferable to direct borrowings, since the influence of the foreign language is barely perceptible to all but a small minority. Loan translations largely conform to the phonological and morphological norms of Czech, and do not pose serious problems to monolingual speakers. Only 17.3% of Dickins' informants expressed any opposition to calquing, with just 4.6% claiming to be strongly against. The greater tolerance of forms which cause minimal disruption to the rules of Czech word formation is further reflected in people's preference for the Czech spelling in doublets such as *camping* and *kempink*, *džentlmen* and *gentleman*, *džez* and *jazz*, *fér* and *fair*, *manažer* and *manager*, and *mejkap* and *make-up*. While 46.6% of the sample advocated the use of Czech orthography, 22.3% opted for the foreign spelling, and 20.1% said that it depends on context.[49] Once again people's familiarity with other languages (especially English) tends to influence their responses. Amongst those claiming a very good knowledge of English, 56.3% maintained that they would probably opt for the original spelling, while 56.7% of those without English language skills were in favour of the adapted form. Tejnor did not address the issue of spelling or calques, not least perhaps because lexical change was a less dynamic process in the early 1970s.

Thus far this article has been based largely on decontextualised lexical items, aimed at giving an overall impression of attitudes to language use. The rest of

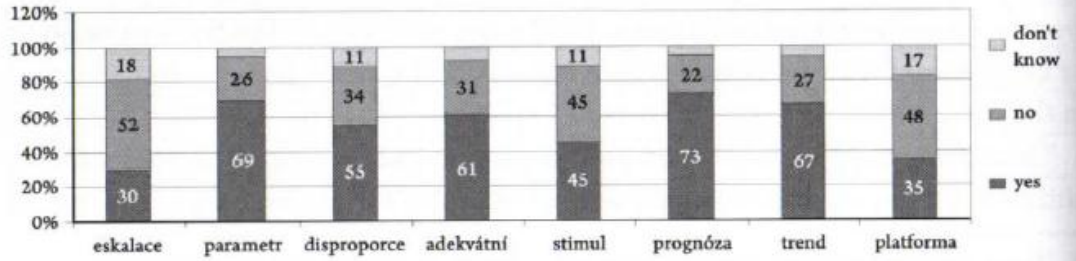
[49] These findings contrast significantly to the results discussed in *The Legacy and Limitations of Czech Purism*, in which just 30% of the informants opted for the Czech spelling.

the study considers a range of more specific examples, which are contextualised according to lexical domain, language of origin and stylistic differences. In order to evaluate attitudes to foreign terms in the media, the area of greatest concern to Tejnor's informants, 'Perceptions' asked people to assess the legitimacy of eight loanwords, which had been deemed inappropriate by a majority of Tejnor's interviewees. Each of the lexical items identified is now regarded as considerably more legitimate than in 1970 and, with the exception of *eskalace* (escalation), *platforma* (platform) and *stimul* (stimulus), they are all seen as more suitable than unsuitable. (By way of further comparison, it might be noted that both *platforma* and *stimul* were deemed generally acceptable in Dickins' smaller-scale survey.) Despite the rather abstract nature of the terms and their lack of any obvious direct relevance to youth culture, the younger informants proved consistently more accepting of the foreign alternatives than their elders. For example, 42.1% of the 15–19 year-olds regarded *eskalace* as appropriate, compared with 18.3% of the over-60s, while the equivalent figures for *disproporce* (disproportion) were 59.2% and 45%, respectively. Even more strikingly, 75% or more of all graduates found all the terms, apart from *eskalace*, *platforma* and *stimul*, acceptable.

**Suitability of loanwords in the media (Tejnor)**




**Suitability of loanwords in the printed media ('Perceptions') (Q. 46)***




* Percentages are rounded up or down to the nearest whole number.

Broadly the same pattern occurs when the question is narrowed further to refer specifically to foreign terms in newspaper articles (intended for non-specialists). Attitudes to the acceptability of loanwords vary, according to the particular lexical item, but the young, the better educated and stronger linguists tend to be more amenable to foreign influences than other groups. Even where words have not yet gained general recognition, as with *bibliotéka* (library), *interesovat* (to interest), *devalvace* (devaluation), *monitorovat* (to monitor), *lukrativní* (lucrative), *komodita* (commodity) and *lobovat* (to lobby), the 15–29 year-olds and those with degrees are consistently the most accepting of them. For example, *bibliotéka* and *devalvace* were regarded as suitable by 43.8% and 68.8% of graduates, respectively, compared with 23.1% and 26.2% of the informants with basic (or less) education.

**The suitability of foreign words in newspaper articles (Q. 50)**

| | Tejnor | | | Dickins | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Suitable | Replace it | Don't know | Suitable | Not suitable | Don't know |
| **gigantický** | 29% | 65% | 6% | 55.8% | 40.6% | 3.5% |
| **bibliotéka** | 16% | 69% | 15% | 27.9% | 68.6% | 3.5% |
| **interesovat** | 20% | 68% | 12% | 24.7% | 71% | 4.2% |
| **pasažér** | 32% | 62% | 6% | 73.9% | 24.7% | 1.4% |
| **devalvace** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 39.9% | 54.8% | 5.3% |
| **monitorovat** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 43.8% | 53% | 3.2% |
| **lukrativní** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 45.6% | 50.9% | 3.5% |
| **komodita** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 23.7% | 71.4% | 4.9% |
| **lobovat** | n/a | n/a | n/a | 27.6% | 66.4% | 6% |

One interpretation of the above findings might be that the less well educated, in particular, reject loanwords because they are unfamiliar with them. However, while there is undoubtedly a correlation between people's familiarity with foreign lexical items and their attitude towards them, the evidence of 'Perceptions' suggests that Czechs are generally inclined to underestimate their knowledge of borrowed terms. Even when asked specifically about sixteen non-Anglicisms, which might be presumed to be more problematic, especially for the young, the majority were surprisingly well informed. All except five of the expressions – *obezličky* (buck-passing), *jakuza* (jacuzzi), *resentiment* (resentment), *konspekt* (summary) and *imbiss* (snack) – were recognised by over 60% of the interviewees. Of these, the two Russianisms – *obezličky* and *konspekt* (from Latin *conspectus*) –

were known to 65.6% and 84.4% of graduates, respectively, and to more than half of the over-45s[50], and *imbiss* was familiar to 46.9% of those with degrees, and to 52.6% of those with a very good or adequate knowledge of German.

**Have you heard of the following? (according to age) (Q. 51)**

| | All informants | | | Age | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 15–29 | | 30–44 | | 45–59 | | 60+ | |
| | Yes | No | Don't know | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| a | 96.1% | 1.4% | 2.5% | 94.7% | 2.6% | 97.2% | 0% | 95.9% | 2.7% | 96.7% | 0% |
| b | 42.4% | 47% | 10.6% | 28.9% | 60.5% | 38.9% | 50% | 52.7% | 32.4% | 50.8% | 44.3% |
| c | 22.6% | 66.4% | 11% | 27.6% | 60.5% | 23.6% | 62.5% | 20.3% | 70.3% | 18% | 73.8% |
| d | 62.2% | 30.7% | 7.1% | 68.4% | 23.7% | 70.8% | 23.6% | 64.9% | 28.4% | 41% | 50.8% |
| e | 92.6% | 4.6% | 2.8% | 94.7% | 2.6% | 95.8% | 1.4% | 93.2% | 4.1% | 85.2% | 11.5% |
| f | 94.7% | 2.8% | 2.5% | 94.7% | 3.9% | 94.4% | 1.4% | 94.6% | 2.7% | 95.1% | 3.3% |
| g | 14.5% | 73.5% | 12% | 15.8% | 65.8% | 13.9% | 76.4% | 17.6% | 74.3% | 9.8% | 78.7% |
| h | 68.2% | 25.8% | 6% | 61.8% | 31.6% | 70.8% | 22.2% | 74.3% | 21.6% | 65.6% | 27.9% |
| i | 49.5% | 41.3% | 9.2% | 50% | 42.1% | 43.1% | 45.8% | 55.4% | 32.4% | 49.2% | 45.9% |
| j | 97.9% | 1.1% | 1.1% | 97.4% | 2.6% | 100% | 0% | 98.6% | 0% | 95.1% | 1.6% |
| k | 82.7% | 13.1% | 4.2% | 85.5% | 14.5% | 87.5% | 9.7% | 87.8% | 5.4% | 67.2% | 24.6% |
| l | 92.6% | 5.7% | 1.8% | 92.1% | 6.6% | 91.7% | 5.6% | 97.3% | 1.4% | 88.5% | 9.8% |
| m | 76% | 17.7% | 6.4% | 80.3% | 15.8% | 84.7% | 12.5% | 79.7% | 12.2% | 55.7% | 32.8% |
| n | 64% | 27.6% | 8.5% | 56.6% | 36.8% | 62.5% | 27.8% | 74.3% | 12.2% | 62.3% | 34.4% |
| o | 80.2% | 15.5% | 4.2% | 88.2% | 11.8% | 84.7% | 12.5% | 82.4% | 9.5% | 62.3% | 31.1% |
| p | 27.6% | 61.5% | 11% | 31.6% | 59.2% | 29.2% | 61.1% | 27% | 56.8% | 21.3% | 70.5% |

a. *apartmá(n)* (apartment, flat), b. *obezličky* (buck-passing), c. *jakuza* (jaccuzi), d. *croissant*, e. *vizážista* (visagist[e]), f. *bungalov* (bungalow), g. *resentiment* (resentment), h. *gastarbeitr* (Gastarbeiter), i. *konspekt* (abstract, synopsis), j. *angažmá* (engagement), k. *(pom)frity* (chips), l. *zimmer frei* (vacancies), m. *paparazzo*, n. *pendler* (Czech worker who commutes daily to Germany or Austria), o. *graffiti* and p. *imbiss* (snack).

[50] The provenance of Slavonic root words is frequently not recognised by speakers of other Slavonic languages. In a survey conducted by the author in October 2004, only two of the 21 informants claimed to know the origins of *obezličky*, although 16 knew its meaning. See Tom Dickins. *Russian and Soviet Loanwords and Calques in the Czech Lexicon since the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*. The Slavonic and East European Review. 2006, vol. 84, no. 4, pp. 593–638 (p. 637).

As a general principle, the origin of a foreign word is less germane to the likelihood of its adoption than its functional necessity, but such is the international cachet of English that seemingly superfluous Anglicisms, such as *houmles* (homeless person) (Czech: *bezdomovec*), are continuing to enter the Czech lexicon. When Dickins' informants were asked whether they could replace 15 English loanwords with Czech alternatives, the success rate exceeded 50% for seven of the examples. (This does not, of course, necessarily mean that the interviewees had not heard of the other lexical items listed.) Five of the Anglicisms for which accurate synonyms or interpretations were given by the majority – *airbag, billboard*[51], *bodyguard, cash* and *leasing* – exhibit no morphological adaptation whatever. While the adoption of *leasing* and *brífink* (briefing) may be understandable, since there are no straightforward Czech equivalents, the other generally known terms either have established synonyms (*bodyguard – osobní strážce, cash – hotovost*), or lend themselves readily to calquing (*airbag – vzduchový vak*), or can be fully or partially paraphrased without difficulty (*billboard – větší reklamní tabule* [larger advertising board], *finišovat – blížit se k cíli a stupňovat tempo* [to finish a race, stepping up the tempo]). As elsewhere, the examples cited illustrate that change is being led by the younger generation and the better educated, with English language knowledge a contributory factor for less specialised terms, such as *talk show*. Amongst the 15–29 year-olds, 51.3% and 40.8% found suitable Czech equivalents for the terms *keyboard* and *homepage*, respectively, compared with 19.7% and 13.1% of the over-60s, while 75% and 62.5% of graduates could explain the meaning of *brífink* and *power-play*, respectively, in contrast to 30.8% and 26.2% of those with incomplete basic (or less) education. There was a similar disparity in the number of fluent English speakers and non-English speakers who could identify appropriate substitutes for expressions such as *homepage* (62.5% versus 11.2%), *houmles* (75% vs. 27.5%), *keyboard* (75% vs. 17.4%), *power-play* (62.5% vs. 27.5%) and *talk show* (50% vs. 19.1%). As in Gester's study, the neologism *rowdy* (hooligan) was not widely known, although 18.8% of those with a very good command of English suggested a suitable synonym.

[51] The form *bilbord* is sometimes preferred to *billboard*.

**Can you replace the following with a Czech term? (according to knowledge of English) (Q. 58)**

| | All informants | | | Knowledge of English | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Very good | | Adequate | | Passive | | None | |
| | Yes | No | Don't know | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| **a** | 91.5% | 1.8% | 6.7% | 100% | 0% | 95.7% | 2.1% | 97.6% | 0% | 88.2% | 2.2% |
| **b** | 37.1% | 24.4% | 38.5% | 62.5% | 25% | 53.2% | 23.4% | 50% | 26.2% | 27.5% | 24.2% |
| **c** | 23% | 11% | 66.1% | 44.7% | 19.1% | 35.7% | 14.3% | 11.2% | 8.4% | 23% | 11% |
| **d** | 6% | 9.9% | 84.1% | 18.8% | 18.8% | 12.8% | 12.8% | 9.5% | 21.4% | 2.2% | 5.6% |
| **e** | 30.7% | 40.6% | 28.6% | 50% | 31.3% | 55.3% | 31.9% | 45.2% | 45.2% | 19.1% | 42.7% |
| **f** | 61.5% | 9.2% | 29.3% | 81.3% | 0% | 74.5% | 12.8% | 69% | 9.5% | 54.5% | 9% |
| **g** | 62.5% | 32.9% | 4.6% | 75% | 25% | 68.1% | 29.8% | 76.2% | 21.4% | 56.7% | 37.1% |
| **h** | 43.5% | 10.2% | 46.3% | 75% | 0% | 76.6% | 6.4% | 61.9% | 7.1% | 27.5% | 12.9% |
| **i** | 24.7% | 7.4% | 67.8% | 62.5% | 6.3% | 51.1% | 19.1% | 38.1% | 9.5% | 11.2% | 3.9% |
| **j** | 91.5% | 2.1% | 6.4% | 100% | 0% | 93.6% | 4.3% | 92.9% | 0% | 89.9% | 2.2% |
| **k** | 76.3% | 4.2% | 19.4% | 87.5% | 0% | 83% | 2.1% | 78.6% | 4.8% | 73% | 5.1% |
| **l** | 50.5% | 9.9% | 39.6% | 43.8% | 25% | 55.3% | 8.5% | 81% | 7.1% | 42.7% | 9.6% |
| **m** | 25.8% | 13.1% | 61.1% | 37.5% | 0% | 38.3% | 23.4% | 38.1% | 14.3% | 18.5% | 11.2% |
| **n** | 87.3% | 3.2% | 9.5% | 87.5% | 0% | 80.9% | 4.3% | 90.5% | 4.8% | 88.2% | 2.8% |
| **o** | 32.5% | 11.7% | 55.8% | 75% | 0% | 59.6% | 10.6% | 50% | 19% | 17.4% | 11.2% |

a. *bodyguard*, b. *power-play*, c. *babysitter/ka*, d. *rowdy* (hooligan), e. *talk show*, f. *cash*, g. *finišovat*, h. *houmles*, i. *homepage*, j. *billboard*, k. *airbag*, l. *brífink*, m. *squatter*, n. *leasing*, o. *keyboard*

In domains, such as computing and sport, where lexical use has undergone internationalisation through technological progress and increased contact with other peoples, Czechs are generally accepting and cognisant of foreign words. Indeed, it would be difficult to discuss a computer application or a major sporting event without using Anglicisms. Of twelve sporting terms, selected to include some non-Anglicisms, only *biker* (cyclist), *cross-country* (cross-country *especially relating to riding*), *libero* (sweeper) and *taekwondo* were not familiar to the majority of the informants. None of these examples could be said to be straightforward borrowings – *biker* (cyclist) is a case where the English has undergone semantic extension, but the Czech retains the original sub-sense; *cross-country* has been subjected to a degree of semantic narrowing; *libero* is a specialised football term, and *taekwondo* is a modern Korean martial art which is not yet well established in the Czech Republic. Amongst the more noteworthy findings was the fact that

*bungee jumping* and *play-off* were known to 83.4% and 78.4% of the interviewees, respectively, while *kouč* (coach) formed part of the lexicon of 97.8% of the men but only 77.2% of the women. Unlike in other domains, gender was the main determinant of people's knowledge in every case. The percentage difference between the males' and females' acquaintance with the words varied between just 12.9% for the least familiar lexical item – *taekwondo*, and 35.3% for *špílmacher* (playmaker), 41.5% for *baráž* (play-off *between teams finishing equal on points*), 41.8% for *stoper* (central defender), 45.4% for *libero* and 45.5% *hattrick*.

**Do you know the following? (according to sex) (Q. 52)**

| | All informants | | | Men | | | Women | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Yes | No | Don't know | Yes | No | Don't know | Yes | No | Don't know |
| a | 60.1% | 32.2% | 7.8% | 82.1% | 13.4% | 4.5% | 40.3% | 49% | 10.7% |
| b | 69.3% | 21.2% | 9.5% | 76.9% | 11.9% | 11.2% | 62.4% | 29.5% | 8.1% |
| c | 86.9% | 9.5% | 3.5% | 97.8% | 0.7% | 1.5% | 77.2% | 17.4% | 5.4% |
| d | 57.2% | 31.8% | 11% | 79.1% | 14.9% | 6% | 37.6% | 47% | 15.4% |
| e | 42.8% | 50.5% | 6.7% | 59% | 31.3% | 9.7% | 28.2% | 67.8% | 4% |
| f | 83.4% | 12.7% | 3.9% | 91.8% | 6.7% | 1.5% | 75.8% | 18.1% | 6% |
| g | 43.5% | 49.1% | 7.4% | 56.7% | 37.3% | 6% | 31.5% | 59.7% | 8.7% |
| h | 61.1% | 30% | 8.8% | 85.1% | 11.2% | 3.7% | 39.6% | 47% | 13.4% |
| i | 52.3% | 36.7% | 11% | 70.9% | 17.9% | 11.2% | 35.6% | 53.7% | 10.7% |
| j | 41% | 49.8% | 9.2% | 64.9% | 25.4% | 9.7% | 19.5% | 71.8% | 8.7% |
| k | 78.4% | 15.5% | 6% | 94.8% | 2.2% | 3% | 63.8% | 27.5% | 8.7% |
| l | 35% | 54.8% | 10.2% | 41.8% | 46.3% | 11.9% | 28.9% | 62.4% | 8.7% |

a. *stoper*, b. *jogging*, c. *kouč* (coach), d. *baráž*, e. *biker*, f. *bungee jumping*, g. *cross-country*, h. *hattrick*, i. *špílmacher*, j. *libero*, k. *play-off*, l. *taekwondo*

Knowledge of computer terminology is closely linked to both gender and generational differences. Young males are particularly likely to be acquainted with computing terms. Whereas 64.9% and 67.6% of men in the age range 15–29 claimed to know *desktop* and *upgrade*, respectively, only 6.5% and 9.7% of the over 60 year-old women did so. Of the two variables, age appears to be the more important here, as illustrated by the fact that 33.3% and 46.2% of women aged between 15 and 29 were familiar with *desktop* and *upgrade*, respectively, compared with 29.4% and 14.7% of men between 45 and 59, and 16.7% and 20% of the over-60 males, respectively.

**Do you know the meaning of the computer term *desktop*? (according to sex and age) (Q. 57)**

| | Men | | | | Women | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ |
| **Yes** | 64.9% | 45.5% | 29.4% | 16.7% | 33.3% | 7.7% | 17.5% | 6.5% |
| **No** | 27% | 48.5% | 61.8% | 76.7% | 48.7% | 87.2% | 72.5% | 93.5% |
| **Not sure** | 8.1% | 6.1% | 8.8% | 6.7% | 17.9% | 5.1% | 10% | 0% |

**Do you know the meaning of the computer term *upgrade*? (according to sex and age) (Q. 57)**

| | Men | | | | Women | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ | 15–29 | 30–44 | 45–59 | 60+ |
| **Yes** | 67.6% | 48.5% | 14.7% | 20% | 46.2% | 20.5% | 25% | 9.7% |
| **No** | 18.9% | 42.4% | 64.7% | 73.3% | 33.3% | 64.1% | 62.5% | 87.1% |
| **Not sure** | 13.5% | 9.1% | 20.6% | 6.7% | 20.5% | 15.4% | 12.5% | 3.2% |

All the words listed, except *desktop*, *slideshow* and *hyperlink*, were known to more than half of the informants aged 15–29, but only the polysemous verb *surfovat* (to surf) had a recognition rate in excess of 50% amongst the over-60s (attributable mainly to the metaphorisation of the sporting term).[52] Familiarity with the basic concept *software* ranged from 86.8% amongst the 15–29 year-olds to 45.9% in the 60+ age group. There was a similar age-related disparity in people's understanding of other common expressions, such as *textový editor* (text editor) and *internetový portal* (Internet portal). However, the data do not identify the extent to which these terms form part of the interviewees' active vocabulary, or provide any indication of how they are perceived.

**Have you heard of the following? (according to age) (Q. 57)**

| | All informants | | | Age | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | 15–29 | | 30–44 | | 45–59 | | 60+ | |
| | Yes | No | Don't know | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| **a** | 69.3% | 22.3% | 8.5% | 86.8% | 10.5% | 72.2% | 16.7% | 67.6% | 20.3% | 45.9% | 45.9% |
| **b** | 27.9% | 64% | 8.1% | 48.7% | 38.2% | 25.0% | 69.4% | 23.0% | 67.6% | 11.5% | 85.2% |
| **c** | 21.2% | 68.9% | 9.6% | 36.8% | 46.1% | 19.4% | 69.4% | 14.9% | 77% | 11.5% | 86.9% |
| **d** | 22.6% | 65.4% | 12% | 40.8% | 36.8% | 23.6% | 68.1% | 16.2% | 75.7% | 6.6% | 85.2% |

[52] It seems unlikely that 54.1% of the over-60s are acquainted with *surfovat* as applied to computers.

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| e | 60.1% | 33.6% | 6.4% | 82.9% | 14.5% | 63.9% | 25% | 51.4% | 39.2% | 37.7% | 60.7% |
| f | 40.6% | 51.6% | 7.8% | 67.1% | 25% | 40.3% | 48.6% | 31.1% | 62.2% | 19.7% | 75.4% |
| g | 62.5% | 29.7% | 7.8% | 84.2% | 14.5% | 66.7% | 22.2% | 56.8% | 29.7% | 37.7% | 57.4% |
| h | 80.2% | 17.3% | 2.5% | 92.1% | 6.6% | 88.9% | 6.9% | 81.1% | 16.2% | 54.1% | 44.3% |
| i | 66.8% | 27.6% | 5.7% | 88.2% | 10.5% | 76.4% | 15.3% | 59.5% | 32.4% | 37.7% | 57.4% |
| j | 32.2% | 54.8% | 13.1% | 56.6% | 26.3% | 33.3% | 54.2% | 20.3% | 63.5% | 14.8% | 80.3% |

a. *software*, b. *desktop*, c. *slideshow*, d. *hyperlink* , e. *internetový portal*, f. *excelovský graf* (Excel graph), g. *textový editor*, h. *surfovat* (to surf), i. *chatovat*, j. *upgrade*

In another question which sought to focus in greater detail on Czechs' perceptions of their compatriots' knowledge, Dickins took nine expressions identified as largely peripheral by over half of Tejnor's sample, and asked his interviewees to assess their comprehensibility to ordinary people. Over two-thirds of those questioned thought that *koordinace* (coordination), *aplikace* (application) and *vertikální* (vertical) are now readily understood, and a smaller majority (53%) claimed that most Czechs would also be familiar with *teze* (thesis). There has also been a slight shift in attitudes to the accessibility of the terms *principiálnost* (adherence to principles) (Tejnor: 38%, Dickins: 32.6%) and *latentní* (latent) (Tejnor: 11%, Dickins: 19.4%), but *postulát* (postulate, claim), *rekriminace* (recrimination) and *verifikace* (verification) are felt to remain generally unknown to the public at large. The most noteworthy feature of the findings was the strength of the consensus which emerged, notwithstanding the occasional tendency of graduates to assume a greater all-round level of knowledge than the least well educated (especially in the case of *koordinace, principiálnost, aplikace, teze* and *vertikální*). Once again this question appears to highlight the extent of people's metalinguistic awareness, and reaffirms the value of adopting a diachronic approach in the evaluation of lexical change.

**Perceptions of other people's knowledge of loanwords (Q. 53)**

| | Tejnor | | | | Dickins | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a. | b. | c. | d. | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. |
| **postulát** | 1% | 4% | 56% | 39% | 0.7% | 5.7% | 61.5% | 29% | 3.2% |
| **rekriminace** | 1% | 5% | 49% | 55% | 1.1% | 2.5% | 50.2% | 41.3% | 4.9% |
| **koordinace** | 6% | 37% | 45% | 12% | 10.2% | 58.7% | 25.1% | 4.2% | 1.8% |
| **aplikace** | 11% | 35% | 43% | 11% | 15.9% | 59.7% | 19.1% | 3.5% | 1.8% |
| **verifikace** | 0% | 2% | 39% | 59% | 1.1% | 7.1% | 49.1% | 36.7% | 6% |
| **principiálnost** | 6% | 32% | 48% | 14% | 5.7% | 26.9% | 45.9% | 17.3% | 4.2% |
| **latentní** | 1% | 10% | 51% | 38% | 4.9% | 14.5% | 55.1% | 20.8% | 4.6% |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **teze** | 7% | 27% | 48% | 18% | 10.6% | 42.4% | 34.6% | 11% | 1.4% |
| **vertikální** | 11% | 34% | 38% | 17% | 23% | 45.9% | 23% | 6.7% | 1.4% |

a. universally known, b. generally known, c. not generally known (outside a small circle of people), d. barely known at all (except to specialists), e. don't know

**Perceptions of other people's knowledge of loanwords (according to education) (Q. 53)**

| | Basic or incomplete basic education | | | | | Higher education | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. |
| **postulát** | 1.5% | 4.6% | 46.2% | 46.2% | 1.5% | 0% | 6.3% | 87.5% | 6.3% | 0% |
| **rekriminace** | 1.5% | 3.1% | 41.5% | 50.8% | 3.1% | 0% | 0% | 68.8% | 31.3% | 0% |
| **koordinace** | 12.3% | 49.2% | 29.2% | 7.7% | 1.5% | 9.4% | 81.3% | 9.4% | 0% | 0% |
| **aplikace** | 12.3% | 56.9% | 24.6% | 6.2% | 0% | 18.8% | 81.3% | 0% | 0% | 0% |
| **verifikace** | 1.5% | 3.1% | 41.5% | 50.8% | 3.1% | 3.1% | 6.3% | 62.5% | 28.1% | 0% |
| **principiálnost** | 3.1% | 21.5% | 47.7% | 24.6% | 3.1% | 12.5% | 40.6% | 40.6% | 3.1% | 3.1% |
| **latentní** | 4.6% | 10.8% | 47.7% | 30.8% | 6.2% | 12.5% | 9.4% | 65.6% | 6.3% | 6.3% |
| **teze** | 10.8% | 38.5% | 26.2% | 23.1% | 1.5% | 15.6% | 65.6% | 18.8% | 0% | 0% |
| **vertikální** | 23.1% | 38.5% | 26.2% | 12.3% | 0% | 25% | 62.5% | 12.5% | 0% | 0% |

a. universally known, b. generally known, c. not generally known (outside a small circle of people), d. barely known at all (except to specialists), e. don't know

Most of the examples of lexical borrowing so far cited have been of an elevated or neutral style, or belong to more specialised linguistic domains. However, both Tejnor and Dickins also considered a series of colloquialisms found in everyday parlance: *furt* (always), *kramflek* (heel), *kumšt* (art), *fajn* (fine), *kuráž* (courage), *kafe* (coffee), *marodit* (to be unwell), *šmakovat* (to taste good), *normálka* (business as usual) and *akorát* (precisely). When Tejnor asked his informants to evaluate the appropriateness of these terms, more than half felt that *furt*, *kramflek* and *šmakovat* did not belong at all in the Czech lexicon, while over a third regarded the remaining seven as inappropriate in all contexts (including normal conversation). In 'Perceptions', all ten of the words listed were felt to be more appropriate than inappropriate in ordinary conversation, although views on *furt* were almost evenly divided.[53] The term *furt* also remains the most marginal lexical

[53] There was significant regional variation, with *furt* enjoying especially high approval ratings in Moravia-Silesia (73.7%), Hradec Králové (66.7%) and North Bohemia (61.3%).

item in more formal settings, with only 7.1% regarding it as suitable for the media and 29.3% endorsing its use in creative writing, compared with Tejnor's figures of 2% and 8%, respectively. Dickins' interviewees were much more accepting of colloquial expressions in both creative writing and the media than Tejnor's sample, although none of the terms listed here is yet deemed appropriate for use in the media by a majority of the informants.

**Is it appropriate to use the colloquialisms listed below in the following contexts?**

| | Tejnor | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | It can be used | | | It is not at all appropriate |
| | In conversation | In creative writing | On radio and TV | |
| **furt** | 21% | 8% | 2% | 73% |
| **kramflek** | 30% | 13% | 2% | 60% |
| **kumšt** | 38% | 49% | 16% | 24% |
| **fajn** | 47% | 16% | 6% | 42% |
| **kuráž** | 64% | 32% | 20% | 17% |
| **kafe** | 62% | 20% | 12% | 30% |
| **marodit** | 58% | 12% | 7% | 36% |
| **šmakovat** | 19% | 10% | 2% | 71% |
| **normálka** | 43% | 12% | 7% | 47% |
| **akorát** | 49% | 13% | 7% | 44% |

**Is it appropriate to use the colloquialisms listed below in the following contexts? (Q. 47–49)**

| | Dickins | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In conversation | | | In creative writing | | | In the media | | |
| | Yes, it is | No, it isn't | Don't know | Yes, it is | No, it isn't | Don't know | Yes, it is | No, it isn't | Don't know |
| **furt** | 49.8% | 48.1% | 2.1% | 29.3% | 55.5% | 15.2% | 7.1% | 90.1% | 2.8% |
| **kramflek** | 55.1% | 40.6% | 4.2% | 36.4% | 48.8% | 14.8% | 13.8% | 82.3% | 3.9% |
| **kumšt** | 70.7% | 26.1% | 3.2% | 54.1% | 33.6% | 12.4% | 33.9% | 62.5% | 3.5% |
| **fajn** | 83% | 15.5% | 1.4% | 47.3% | 39.9% | 12.7% | 37.5% | 58.7% | 3.9% |
| **kuráž** | 84.8% | 13.1% | 2.1% | 53.4% | 33.6% | 13.1% | 46.6% | 50.5% | 2.8% |
| **kafe** | 87.3% | 11.3% | 1.4% | 53.4% | 35.7% | 11% | 38.2% | 58.3% | 3.5% |
| **marodit** | 85.2% | 13.4% | 1.4% | 48.4% | 38.5% | 13.1% | 33.9% | 62.5% | 3.5% |
| **šmakovat** | 56.9% | 38.9% | 4.2% | 36.7% | 50.2% | 13.1% | 11% | 85.9% | 3.2% |
| **normálka** | 73.1% | 23% | 3.9% | 43.5% | 43.1% | 13.4% | 22.3% | 73.9% | 3.9% |
| **akorát** | 84.8% | 11.7% | 3.5% | 51.6% | 36% | 12.4% | 44.2% | 50.2% | 5.7% |

As elsewhere, the younger generation tends to be especially tolerant of borrowing, while the over-60s are the least accommodating. Gender has comparatively little bearing on the overall results, although, surprisingly, 15–29 year-old women are consistently more indulgent than their male peers towards Tejnor's choice of colloquialisms, when they are used in everyday speech. It is difficult to explain why young women should be so receptive to these particular loanwords, but it may partly reflect the fact that none of them has any associations with male sub-culture. The correlation between education and acceptability of usage is similarly less clear-cut and predictable than in the case of most of the non-colloquial examples previously cited. Graduates discriminate to a much greater extent than their less educated compatriots between colloquial expressions which have entered the mainstream vernacular, such as *fajn, kuráž, kafe, marodit* and *akorát*, and more peripheral forms, such as *furt, kramflek, normálka* and *šmakovat*. Whereas those with minimal qualifications find all Tejnor's expressions more acceptable in ordinary conversation than in creative writing, graduates regard the latter four as equally or more legitimate in creative writing. Perhaps the most interesting fact to emerge from these findings is that people's misgivings about the effect of foreign borrowing apply as much at the lower end of the Czech language spectrum as at the higher end. The better educated and the elderly, in particular, remain wary of the impact of certain types of foreign colloquialism on the integrity and intimacy of their non-standard idiom, which they acquired naturally as children, and which defines their linguistic identity more than the high-status 'standard' form of Czech (*spisovná čeština*) learnt through formal instruction.

**Is it appropriate to use the colloquialisms listed below in conversation? (according to sex and age) (Q. 47–49)**

| | Men | | | | Women | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All ages | | 15–29 | | All ages | | 15–29 | |
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| **furt** | 54.5% | 42.5% | 56.8% | 40.5% | 45.6% | 53% | 61.5% | 38.5% |
| **kramflek** | 56.7% | 38.8% | 45.9% | 45.9% | 53.7% | 42.3% | 61.5% | 33.3% |
| **kumšt** | 71.6% | 26.9% | 70.3% | 24.3% | 69.8% | 25.5% | 74.4% | 20.5% |
| **fajn** | 80.6% | 17.2% | 81.1% | 18.9% | 83.0% | 14.1% | 87.2% | 12.8% |
| **kuráž** | 83.6% | 12.7% | 75.7% | 16.2% | 84.8% | 13.4% | 94.9% | 5.1% |
| **kafe** | 88.1% | 9.7% | 83.8% | 13.5% | 86.6% | 12.8% | 89.7% | 10.3% |
| **marodit** | 85.1% | 12.7% | 81.1% | 13.5% | 85.2% | 14.1% | 92.3% | 7.7% |
| **šmakovat** | 59% | 35.1% | 59.5% | 29.7% | 55% | 42.3% | 69.2% | 28.2% |
| **normálka** | 71.6% | 23.9% | 73% | 21.6% | 74.5% | 22.1% | 84.6% | 15.4% |
| **akorát** | 82.1% | 13.4% | 83.8% | 10.8% | 87.2% | 10.1% | 89.7% | 7.7% |

**Is it appropriate to use the colloquialisms listed below in conversation and creative writing? (according to education) (Q. 47–49)**

| | In conversation | | | | In creative writing | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Basic or less | | Higher education | | Basic or less | | Higher education | |
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No | Yes | No |
| **furt** | 60% | 35.4% | 21.9% | 75% | 33.8% | 47.7% | 28.1% | 65.6% |
| **kramflek** | 61.5% | 35.4% | 25% | 65.6% | 40% | 43.1% | 34.4% | 56.3% |
| **kumšt** | 72.3% | 24.6% | 56.3% | 40.6% | 50.8% | 35.4% | 53.1% | 40.6% |
| **fajn** | 76.9% | 21.5% | 81.3% | 18.8% | 49.2% | 38.5% | 40.6% | 50% |
| **kuráž** | 83.1% | 13.8% | 84.4% | 15.6% | 52.3% | 33.8% | 50% | 43.8% |
| **kafe** | 83.1% | 15.4% | 87.5% | 9.4% | 49.2% | 40% | 53.1% | 40.6% |
| **marodit** | 81.5% | 15.4% | 78.1% | 21.9% | 46.2% | 41.5% | 53.1% | 40.6% |
| **šmakovat** | 70.8% | 23.1% | 31.3% | 65.6% | 41.5% | 44.6% | 40.6% | 53.1% |
| **normálka** | 70.8% | 23.1% | 43.8% | 56.3% | 40% | 41.5% | 43.8% | 50% |
| **akorát** | 84.6% | 12.3% | 78.1% | 18.8% | 47.7% | 36.9% | 53.1% | 43.8% |

# CONCLUSION

Tejnor reached eight major conclusions in his analysis of his data: (1) most people felt that loanwords were over-used, especially in the media; (2) nearly half the informants (48%), nonetheless, regarded foreign phrases as indispensable, particularly in specialist domains; (3) despite this, resistance to borrowing was deeply ingrained, as evidenced, inter alia, by the facts that 64% of his interviewees identified a surfeit of imported terms, and 51% preferred the indigenous form in synonymous doublets, such as *disciplína* and *kázeň* (discipline); (4) foreign lexical influences in the media and bureaucracy were of greatest concern; (5) predictably, people's passive knowledge of loanwords was better than their active knowledge, but foreign language expertise was a more important determinant of their range of vocabulary than age; (6) slangy colloquialisms such as *furt*, *kramflek* and *šmakovat* were generally rejected, and were considered especially inappropriate for use on radio and television; (7) 61% of the informants deemed their understanding of terms from other languages to be inadequate, with dictionaries of foreign words proving their preferred source of reference; (8) notwithstanding their misgivings about foreign words, most people were reconciled to the functional necessity of borrowing.

Dickins' survey broadly replicated the results of Tejnor's study, although the precise details have inevitably been influenced by the huge changes in the social, economic and political structures of the Czech-speaking lands. Loanwords are now felt to pose greatest difficulty in technology and general (non-fiction) reading, but are seen as less of a problem in the media and bureaucracy. A very similar proportion of people (46.3%) still regard borrowing as essential, although preference generally continues to be given to Czech expressions in the case of doublets and well established colloquialisms. Both Gester's and Dickins' data suggest that the gap between those concerned and unconcerned about foreign terms has narrowed somewhat since Tejnor's questionnaire. (Relative to the number of lexical borrowings in 1971 and after 1989, this may, of course, amount to a much more significant shift in public opinion than actually indicated by the raw figures.) Despite a significant improvement in people's active skills in foreign languages, 85.6% of the interviewees in 'Perceptions' said that loanwords at least

sometimes cause them problems in their everyday life, with the elderly and less well educated experiencing greatest difficulty. The need for vocabulary from other non-Slavonic sources, to meet lexical deficiencies, is now widely recognised, and a knowledge of foreign languages is felt to be increasingly important in terms of personal and professional development.

In an address to members of the Czech parliament in December 1997, ex-President Havel advocated declaring "a relentless war on Czech provincialism, isolationism and egoism."[54] While the ideological battle against insularity and chauvinism may have been largely won, there is still a strong current of thought in Czech society associating lexical borrowing with the erosion of the national culture. This article has identified a number of rational and non-rational objections to foreign linguistic innovation based on a range of different lexical items. The young (together with the better educated and good linguists) may be generally willing to embrace certain aspects of language change, but society at large and the elderly, in particular, are more circumspect, and remain protective of their linguistic heritage. The older people grow, the stronger is their yearning for the stability of an ill-defined, but nonetheless supposedly more glorious previous era, in which language somehow embodied the spirit of the nation. Were the relative conservatism of older people merely a reflection of their upbringing and specific circumstances in post-communist society, it could be dismissed as a transitory phenomenon and relegated to the status of an academic footnote. Yet, comparison with Tejnor's and other findings suggest that it is, in fact, indicative of a much more predictable and universal linguistic trend – the process of age-grading. What is less predictable is the tendency of men to be leading this resistance to lexical innovation. It remains to be seen whether future studies will repeat these results, or whether the apparently greater readiness of older women to identify language change with social progress is simply the product of a (rather improbable) statistical anomaly.

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[54] Václav Havel. *Address by Václav Havel, President of the Czech Republic, before the Members of Parliament*. Prague: 1 December, 1999. <http://old.hrad.cz/president/Havel/speeches/1997/0912_uk.html> [accessed 20 March, 2007].

# APPENDIX 1

## Perceptions of lexical borrowing in Czech, 2005

**Technical parameters**

| | |
|---|---|
| Principal researcher: | Tom Dickins |
| Date of fieldwork: | 31. 10. 2005 – 7. 11. 2005 |
| Selection of informants: | Stratified sampling, conducted by Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění (Public Opinion Research Centre) |
| Source used for sampling: | Český statistický úřad: Sčítání lidu, domů a bytů 2001 (Czech Statistical Office: Population and housing census, 2001) |
| Number of fieldworkers: | 107 |
| Number of informants: | 283 |
| Scope of the sample: | Population of the Czech Republic, aged 15 and over |
| Method of data collection: | Standardised conversation with a fieldworker and an informant based on a questionnaire |

**Structure of the stratified sample**

| | Population distribution (ČR) | Sample | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (relative) | (absolute) | (relative) |
| **Sex** | | | |
| **Men** | 48.2% | 134 | 47.3% |
| **Women** | 51.8% | 149 | 52.7% |
| **Age** | | | |
| **15–29** | 27.9% | 76 | 26.9% |
| **30–44** | 23.9% | 72 | 25.4% |
| **45–59** | 26.2% | 74 | 26.1% |
| **60+** | 22% | 61 | 21.6% |
| **Education** | | | |
| **Basic (Základní vzdělání)** | 23.8% | 65 | 23% |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Incomplete secondary (Střední bez maturity)** | 38.5% | 109 | 38.5% |
| **Complete secondary (Střední s maturitou)** | 27.4% | 77 | 27.2% |
| **Higher education (Vysokoškolské)** | 10.3% | 32 | 11.3% |
| **Size of place of residence** | | | |
| **up to 799 inhabitants** | 14.6% | 42 | 14.8% |
| **800–1,999 inhabitants** | 11.9% | 34 | 12% |
| **2,000–4,999 inhabitants** | 11.2% | 32 | 11.3% |
| **5,000–14,999 inhab.** | 14.1% | 38 | 13.4% |
| **15,000–29,999 inhab.** | 10.8% | 33 | 11.7% |
| **30,000–79,999 inhab.** | 11.4% | 31 | 11% |
| **80,000–999,999 inhab.** | 14.2% | 41 | 14.5% |
| **100,000+ inhabitants** | 11.8% | 32 | 11.3% |
| **Region** | | | |
| **Praha** | 11.8% | 32 | 11.3% |
| **Střední Čechy** | 11% | 31 | 11% |
| **Jihozápad** | 11.5% | 35 | 12.4% |
| **Severozápad** | 10.9% | 34 | 12% |
| **Severovýchod** | 14.4% | 38 | 13.4% |
| **Jihovýchod** | 16.1% | 43 | 15.2% |
| **Střední Morava** | 12% | 32 | 11.3% |
| **Moravskoslezsko** | 12.3% | 38 | 13.4% |

Note: any discrepancies in the above data are attributable to non-responses.

**Questionnaire and summary of main findings**

1) Do you speak a language other than Czech at home with your family?
   *No – 86.9%; yes – 12.7%*
2) (Those who said 'yes' to 1.) With whom in your family do you speak a language other than Czech?
   Mainly with spouse; most commonly German, followed by Polish
3) Have you studied a classical language?
   a. Latin, b. Ancient Greek, c. another classical language
   *Latin – 13.84%; hardly any other classical languages studied*
4) 1. For which foreign language do you have the most positive feelings?
   *Slovak – 36%, English – 20.1%, German – 8%, French – 7.1%*
   2. For which foreign language do you have the next most positive feelings?

*English – 17.73%, German – 16.26%, Slovak – 15.76%, French – 13.79%, Italian – 9.36%, Polish – 8.87%*

5) 1. For which foreign language do you have the most negative feelings?
Romany – 25.8%, other non-European language – 16.3%, German – 12.4%, Russian – 7.4%
2. For which foreign language do you have the next most negative feelings?
*Other non-European language – 26.4%, Romany – 25.9%, other non-Slavonic European language – 14.9%, German – 12.1%, Russian – 8%*

6) How well do you know foreign languages?
a. Slovak, b. English, c. Russian, d. German, e. Romany, f. French, g. Spanish, h. Italian, i. another non-Slavonic European language, j. another Slavonic language, k. another non-European language
*Very well or adequately: Slovak – 61.1%, Russian – 28.6%, German – 27.5%, English – 22.3%, other Slavonic language – 9.5%; passively: Slovak – 29%, Russian – 33.2%, German – 23.3%, English – 14.8%, other Slavonic language – 15.2%*

7) Do you ever use a foreign language at work?
*No – 44.2%; yes – 17.3%*

8) (Those who said 'yes' to 7.) How often do you use a foreign language at work?
a. English, b. German, c. Slovak, d. Russian, e. another language
*At least once a week: English – 38.8%; German – 38.8%; Slovak – 26.5%; Russian – 2%*

9) Do you talk or write to people in a foreign language?
*No – 69.3%; yes – 30.7%*

10) (Those who said 'yes' to 9.) How often do you use a foreign language with acquaintances?
a. English, b. German, c. Slovak, d. Russian, e. other
*At least once a week: English – 16.1%; German – 11.5%; Slovak – 7.8%; Russian – 3.4%*

11) Do you watch or listen to a foreign language station?
*Yes – 49.8%; no – 49.8%*

12) (Those who said 'yes' to 11.) How often do you watch programmes in a foreign language?
a. English, b. German, c. Slovak, d. Russian, e. other
*At least once a week: German – 40%; Slovak – 35.5%; English – 28.4%; Russian – 7.1%*

13) Do you ever read books, newspapers or magazines in a foreign language?
*No – 73.1%; yes – 26.96%*

14) (Those who said 'yes' to 13.) How often do you read in a foreign language?
a. English, b. German, c. Slovak, d. Russian, e. other
*At least once a week: German – 27.6%; English – 26.3%; Slovak – 5.3%; Russian – 2.6%*

15) Have you lived abroad a month or more?
*No – 78.8%; yes – 20.9%*

16) 1. Country
*Most frequent country of residence – Germany, followed by Slovakia and Great Britain*
2. Length of stay in months
*Most frequent period of time spent abroad – 2 months*

17) Do people speak Czech better or worse than 10 years ago?
*Worse – 58%; better – 15.2%*

18) Do people write Czech better or worse than 10 years ago?
*Worse – 54.8%; better – 12%*

19) What do you think of the number of foreign words in everyday speech?
*There are too many – 54.1%; about right – 38.5%; there are too few – 1.8%*

20) Do you think that people use too many superfluous foreign words in their everyday speech?
*Yes – 73.5%; no – 17.13%*

21) Why do people use a lot of foreign words?
*Reason 1: to show off – 40.8%; because it's fashionable – 13.1%; because of the influence of the media – 7.8%*
*Reason 2: to show off – 27.1%; because of the influence of the media – 13.6%; due to global change – 11.9%; because it's fashionable – 8.5%*

22) What is your view of the overall number of foreign words in Czech?
*There are too many – 48.1% ; about right – 44.5%*

23) What is your reaction to the use of foreign words?
a. it is bad for Czech, b. it enriches Czech, c. it makes life easier, d. it began after 1989, e. it is a young person's thing, f. it enhances understanding, g. it threatens the national culture, h. it should be minimised, i. it should be regulated by law, j. it is a matter for specialists
*Most people said 'yes' to a., d., e., f. and h., and 'no' to b., c., g., i. and j.*

24) What do you think of the number of foreign language films and TV programmes?

*There are too many – 53% ; about right – 36%*

25) What do you think of the number of non-dubbed foreign language programmes on TV?
*About right – 38%; there are not many – 25.1%; there are too many – 14.8%*

26) Do you prefer foreign language TV programmes with sub-titles or dubbed?
*Dubbed – 66.1%; depends on the language – 18%; with Czech sub-titles – 13.4%*

27) What do you think of the use of foreign language songs played by the broadcast media?
*There are too many – 48.4%; about right – 39.2%*

28) What do you think of the use of foreign words in the following situations?
a. everyday conversation, b. political and public life, c. trade and business, d. other areas of work, e. advertising, f. computing and technology, g. popular culture, h. sport, hobbies and travel, i. beauty and healthcare
*The areas of greatest concern were a. and b., followed by e.*

29) Do you think that borrowing enriches or impoverishes the language?
*Impoverishes – 47.3%; enriches – 38.5%*

30) Do you think that borrowing is necessary or should Czech always look for indigenous terms?
*Borrowing is a must – 46.3%; Czech should seek indigenous terms – 38.5%*

31) How do you think the following regard borrowing?
a. young people, b. middle-aged people, c. the older generation, d. people in the media, e. politicians, f. advertisers, g. business people, h. academics, i. teachers; j. is there anyone else in favour?, k. is there anyone else against?
*(The majority said) the following groups would be in favour – a., b., d., e., f., g., h. and i; most felt that the older generation would be against.*

32) What is the impact of the following on borrowing?
a. globalisation, b. tourism, c. Czech culture and traditions, d. European culture, e. American culture; f. is there anything else which promotes borrowing?, g. is there anything else which hinders borrowing?
*(The majority said) promotes it – a., b., d and, e.; hinders it – c.*

33) How often do you use foreign words in everyday conversation?
*Sometimes – 33.9%; rarely – 28.3%; (almost) never – 22%; frequently – 12%; almost all the time – 2.1%*

34) Do you feel that you need a better understanding of foreign words?
*Yes – 63%; no – 34.8%*

35) How often do you do the following to establish the meaning of a foreign word?

a. ask someone, b. consult a dictionary of foreign words, c. consult a monolingual Czech dictionary, d. consult a bilingual dictionary, e. consult a foreign language dictionary, f. consult an electronic dictionary, g. consult a different type of dictionary, h. consult a reference work, i. use a search engine, j. use a different method

*The informants most frequently ask someone else or look it up in a dictionary of foreign words.*

36) Do foreign words cause you problems in your everyday life?

*Sometimes – 47.3%; frequently – 42.3%; all the time – 6.3%*

37) How often do foreign words cause you problems in the following circumstances?

a. in your general (non-fiction) reading, b. when using technology, c. when watching the television, d. when dealing with bureaucracy, e. in specialist areas of study, f. when reading fiction

*The areas of greatest concern were a., b. and e.*

38) Which expressions do you generally prefer: foreign ones or Czech ones?

*Czech terms – 55.8%; it depends – 28.6%; foreign terms – 7.8%*

39) Which of the following do you prefer?

a. kopaná/fotbal, b. košíková/basket(bal), c. kulturistika/bodybuilding, d. vědecko-fantastický/sci-fi, e. vteřina/sekunda, f. výlučně/ exklusivně, g. jazykověda/lingvistika, h. dějiny/historie, i. počítač/computer, j. večírek/ party

*(The majority said) the loanword is preferable – a. and d.; the indigenous term is preferable – b., c., e., f., g., h., i. and j.*

40) Is it worth looking for indigenous phrases for established loanwords such as 'internet' and 'pizza'?

*No – 65.1%; yes – 25.1%; don't know – 13.8%*

41) Are foreign words justified on the grounds that they enhance understanding between peoples?

*Yes – 78.1%; don't know – 13.8%; no – 8.1%*

42) Are foreign words justified on the grounds that they make life easier?

*Yes – 61.1%; don't know – 20.1%; no – 18.7%*

43) Do you prefer internationalisms such as 'aluminium' and 'substantivum' or their Czech equivalents?

*Czech term – 65.7%; it depends – 20.1%; foreign term – 5.7%*

44) Do you prefer the Czech spelling or the original spelling for doublets such as 'kempink' and 'camping'?

*Czech spelling – 46.6%; foreign spelling – 22.3%; it depends – 20.1%*

45) Are you for or against loan translations such as 'časovač' and 'myš'?
*For – 56.9%; against – 17.3%*

46) Is it appropriate for the printed media to use the following?
a. eskalace, b. parametr, c. disproporce, d. adekvátní, e. stimul, f. prognóza, g. trend, h. platforma
*(The majority said) yes – b., c., d., f. and g.; no – a. and h.; opinion equally divided – e.*

47) Is it appropriate to use the following in everyday conversation?
a. furt, b. kramflek, c. kumšt, d. fajn, e. kuráž, f. kafe, g. marodit, h. šmakovat, i. normálka, j. akorát
*(The majority said) yes in each case, although opinion on 'furt' was almost evenly divided.*

48) Is it appropriate to use the following on the radio and television?
a. furt, b. kramflek, c. kumšt, d. fajn, e. kuráž, f. kafe, g. marodit, h. šmakovat, i. normálka, j. akorát
*(The majority said) yes – c., d., e., f., g. and j.; no – a., b. and h. Opinion on 'normálka' was almost evenly divided.*

49) Is it appropriate to use the following in creative writing?
a. furt, b. kramflek, c. kumšt, d. fajn, e. kuráž, f. kafe, g. marodit, h. šmakovat, i. normálka, j. akorát
*(The majority said) yes – c., d., e., f., g. and j.; no – a., b. and h. Opinion on 'normálka' was almost evenly divided.*

50) Is it appropriate to use the following in a newspaper article?
a. gigantický, b. bibliotéka, c. interesovat, d. pasažér, e. devalvace, f. monitorovat, g. lukrativní, h. komodita, i. lobovat
*(The majority said) yes – a. and d.; no – b., c., e., f., g., h. and i.*

51) Have you heard of the following?
a. apartmá(n), b. obezličky, c. jakuza, d. croissant, e. vizážista, f. bungalov, g. resentiment, h. gastarbeitr, i. konspekt, j. angažmá, k. pomfrity, l. zimmer frei, m. paparazzi, n. pendler, o. graffiti, p. imbiss
*(The majority said) yes – a., d., e., f., h., i., j., k., l., m., n., o. and p.; no – b., c., g. and p.*

52) Do you know the meaning of the following?
a. stoper, b. jogging, c. kouč, d. baráž, e. biker, f. bungee jumping, g. crosscountry, h. hattrick, i. špílmacher, j. libero, k. play-off, l. taekwondo
*(The majority said) yes – a., b., c., d., f., h., i. and k.; no – e., g., j. and l.*

53) How well understood is the following?
a. postulát, b. rekriminace, c. koordinace, d. aplikace, e. verifikace, f. principiálnost, g. latentní, h. teze, i. vertikální
*(The majority said) universally/generally – c., d., h. and i.; not generally/barely at all – a., b., e., f. and g.*

54) How suitable are the following as donor languages?
a. Greek/Latin, b. German, c. English, d. other non-Slavonic languages, e. Russian, f. other Slavonic languages, g. other world languages
*(The majority said) suitable – Greek/Latin and English; not suitable – other non-Slavonic European languages, Russian and other world languages. Opinion on German and other Slavonic languages was more or less evenly divided.*

55) Is it a disadvantage not to know English?
*Yes – 89.4%; no – 7.1%.*

56) Does English pose a threat to Czech?
*No – 56.2%; yes – 29.3%*

57) Do you know the meaning of the following computer terms?
a. software, b. desktop, c. slideshow, d. hyperlink, e. internetový portal, f. excelovský graf, g. textový editor, h. surfovat, i. chatovat, j. upgrade
*(The majority said) yes – a., e., g., h. and i.; no – b., c., d., f. and j.*

58) Can you replace the following with a Czech term?
a. bodyguard, b. power-play, c. babysitter/ka, d. rowdy, e. talk show, f. cash, g. finišovat, h. houmles, i. homepage, j. billboard, k. airbag, l. brífink, m. squatter, n. leasing, o. keyboard
*A majority of correct replies (exceeding the combined total of incorrect replies and don't knows) – a., f., g., j., k., l. and n.*

# APPENDIX 2

## Cizí slova v českém jazyce (Foreign words in Czech), 1970

**Technical parameters**

| | |
|---|---|
| Principal researcher: | Antonín Tejnor |
| Date of fieldwork: | 15. 10. 1970 – 31. 10. 1970 |
| Selection of informants: | Stratified sampling, conducted by Ústav pro výzkum veřejného mínění (Public Opinion Research Institute) |
| Sources used for sampling: | Statistická ročenka ČSSR 1968, 1969, 1970 (Statistical Yearbook of the ČSSR, 1968, 1969, 1970) and Věkové složení v roce 1967 (FSÚ 1969) (Age composition in 1967) |
| Number of fieldworkers: | 159 |
| Number of informants: | 635 |
| Scope of the sample: | Czech-speaking population of Czechoslovakia, aged 15 and over |
| Method of data collection: | Standardised conversation with a fieldworker and an informant based on a questionnaire |

**Structure of the stratified sample**

| | Population distribution (ČSR) | Sample | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Sex** | | | |
| **Men** | 48.1% | 48.7% | + 0.6% |
| **Women** | 51.9% | 51.3% | – 0.6% |
| **Age** | | | |
| **15–24** | 22.8% | 22.5% | – 0.3% |
| **25–39** | 25% | 25.2% | – 0.2% |
| **40–54** | 22.6% | 23.5% | + 0.9% |
| **55+** | 29.6% | 28.8% | – 0.8% |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Education** | | | |
| **Basic (Základní)** | | 39.6% | |
| **Incomplete basic and other education (Základní a další bez maturity)** | 32% | | |
| **Complete secondary (Středoškolské s maturitou)** | 22% | | |
| **Higher education (Vysokoškolské)** | 6.4% | | |
| **Size of place of residence** | | | |
| **up to 1,999 inhabitants** | 33.5% | 35.7% | + 0.2% |
| **2,000–4,999 inhabitants** | 13.7% | 12.4% | – 1.3% |
| **5000–9,999 inhabitants** | 8.6% | 10.1% | + 1.5% |
| **10,000–99,999 inhabitants** | 24.1% | 22% | – 2.1% |
| **100,000+ inhabitants** | 18.1% | 19.8% | + 1.7% |
| **Region** | | | |
| **Praha** | 11.3% | 12.9% | + 1.6% |
| **Středočeský** | 13.2% | 14% | + 0.8% |
| **Jihočeský** | 6.6% | 5.2% | – 1.4% |
| **Západočeský** | 8.5% | 9.8% | + 1.3% |
| **Severočeský** | 11.2% | 11.5% | + 0.3% |
| **Východočeský** | 12.3% | 10.4% | – 1.9% |
| **Jihomoravský** | 19.6% | 20.6% | + 1% |
| **Severomoravský** | 17.3% | 15.6% | – 1.7% |

## Jaká je čeština v letech devadesátých? (What is Czech like in the nineties?), 1995

**Technical parameters**

Principal researcher: Jiří Kraus
Date of fieldwork: February 1995
Selection of informants: Stratified sampling, conducted by Opinion window Prague
Sources used for sampling: Not stated

Number of fieldworkers: Not stated
Number of informants: 1,078
Scope of the sample: Population of the Czech Republic, aged 18 and over
Method of data collection: Standardised conversation with a fieldworker and an informant based on a questionnaire

**Structure of the stratified sample**

| | Sample |
|---|---|
| **Sex** | |
| **Men** | Not stated |
| **Women** | Not stated |
| **Age** | |
| **18–39** | Not stated |
| **40–49** | Not stated |
| **50–59** | Not stated |
| **60–65** | Not stated |

## Anglicismy v současné češtině (Anglicisms in contemporary Czech), 2000

**Technical parameters**

Principal researcher: Silke Gester
Date of fieldwork: Autumn 2000
Selection of informants: Non-representative sampling
Sources used for sampling: Based on the methodology of Hermann Fink, Liane Fijas & Danielle Schons. *Anglizismen in der Sprache der Neuen Bundesländer: Eine Analyse zur Verwendung und Rezeption* (*Freiberger Beiträge zum Einfluss der angloamerikanischen Sprache und Kultur auf Europa*). vol. 4. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1977.
Number of fieldworkers: Not stated
Number of informants: 194
Scope of the sample: Selected informants, primarily from Zlín, but also from Prague and other places in the Czech Republic, aged 15 and over

Method of data collection: Standardised conversation with a fieldworker and an informant based on a questionnaire

**Structure of the non-representative sample**

| | Sample |
|---|---|
| **Sex** | |
| **Men** | 70 (36.1%) |
| **Women** | 124 (63.9%) |
| **Age** | |
| **15–20** | 72 (37.1%) |
| **21–29** | 57 (29.4%) |
| **30–45** | 39 (20.1%) |
| **45+** | 26 (13.4%) |
| **Education** | |
| **Grammar (Gymnázium) or Higher education (Vysokoškolské)** | c. 33% |

## Jak reagujete na cizí slova v současné češtině? (How do you react to foreign words in contemporary Czech?), 2005

**Technical parameters**

Principal researcher: Tom Dickins
Date of fieldwork: June–July 2005
Selection of informants: Non-representative sampling
Sources used for sampling: None
Number of fieldworkers: 1 (Miroslav Růžička)
Number of informants: 30
Scope of the sample: Selected informants, primarily from Prague, but also from other places in the Czech Republic, aged 15 and over
Method of data collection: Standardised conversation with a fieldworker and an informant based on a questionnaire

Structure of the non-representative sample

| | Sample |
|---|---|
| **Sex** | |
| **Men** | 10 (33.3%) |
| **Women** | 20 (66.7%) |
| **Age** | |
| **15–24** | 5 (16.7%) |
| **25–39** | 13 (43.3%) |
| **40–54** | 6 (20%) |
| **55+** | 6 (20%) |

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*Vývojová ročenka Školství v ČR: B6.2.1 Základní školy – žáci učící se cizí jazyky ve školním roce 2000/01 až 2005/06 (bez škol při výchovných ústavech).* Prague: Ústav pro informace ve vzdělávání, 2007. <http://www.uiv.cz/clanek/586/1297> [accessed 12 March, 2007].

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# Attitudes to lexical borrowing in the Czech Republic

Tom Dickins

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Sazba a grafická úprava Pavel Koudelka

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This study uses a variety of empirical data to evaluate Czech perceptions of lexical borrowing, including a nationwide poll conducted for the author in November 2005 by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. The survey combines synchronic and diachronic perspectives, and is the most comprehensive analysis of its kind since Antonín Tejnor, 1970. It concludes that most Czechs accept functionally necessary loanwords, but feel that their language contains a surfeit of peripheral foreign terms, which are used too frequently and somewhat inappropriately. Perhaps its most important contribution relates to the phenomenon of age-grading and, in particular, to the tendency of elderly men to be especially resistant to lexical innovation (in apparent contradiction to the sociolinguistic axiom that women are primarily responsible for language maintenance).

Studie Toma Dickinse využívá různá empirická data při evaluaci postojů českých mluvčích k lexikálním výpůjčkám, včetně celonárodního průzkumu, který byl proveden v listopadu roku 2005 Centrem pro výzkum veřejného mínění Sociologického ústavu AV ČR. Tento výzkum spojuje synchronní a diachronní úhel pohledu a představuje největší analýzu svého typu v návaznosti na Antonína Tejnora z října 1970. Autor studie dospívá k závěru, že většina Čechů přijímá legitimnost funkčně nezbytných výpůjček, ale myslí si, že jejich mateřština obsahuje až příliš mnoho okrajových cizích slov, která jsou používána nadmíru často a ne vždy ve vhodném kontextu. Pravděpodobně nejdůležitější přínos této studie spočívá ve využití jevu zvaného „age-grading", tedy příklonu k víceméně předvídatelným změnám v postojích k jazyku v souladu s věkem respondenta, a konkrétně ve zdůraznění tendence starších mužů odolávat lexikálním inovacím, což je ve zdánlivém rozporu se sociolingvistickým axiomem, že ženy jsou primárně zodpovědné za udržování jazyka.

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Jazyky a texty

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# The Czech-Speaking Lands, their Peoples and Contact Communities: Titles, Names and Ethnonyms

TOM DICKINS

*Introduction*

The study of the names of people and places, or onomastics, has an importance in Czech scholarship which is unparalleled in much of the English-speaking world.[1] As an academic discipline, it has its origins in the nineteenth-century Czech National Revival and is closely associated with František Palacký (1798–1876). Although now increasingly regarded as a branch of linguistics, onomastics has broader historical, political, geographic, ethnographic and anthropological dimensions which ensure a more general appeal outside the confines of university linguistics departments. The Czechs' enduring interest in toponyms and anthroponyms, which is attributable in the post-war era largely to the work of linguists such as Antonín Profous, Ladislav Hosák, Ivan Lutterer, Rudolf Šrámek and especially, perhaps, Vladimír Šmilauer,[2] reflects an awareness of the role of place names in national and regional self-identity, and is linked to a widespread appreciation of dialectal and morphological variation. Not only is the study of the meaning and origin of proper names felt to be intrinsically worthwhile, but the heavily-inflected nature of Czech contributes to a degree of

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[1] For a useful overview of the subject, see Milan Harvalík, *Synchronní a diachronní aspekty české onymie*, Prague, 2004.

[2] See, for example, Vladimír Šmilauer, *Úvod do toponomastiky*, Prague, 1966, and Ivan Lutterer, Milan Majtán and Rudolf Šrámek, *Zeměpisná jména Československa*, Prague, 1982.

debate about grammar and usage that is unfamiliar to speakers of more analytical languages, such as English.[3] Perhaps inevitably, the focus of much of the discussion has been on localized forms, ranging from the names of minor landmarks to the names of villages, hamlets and streets. Onomastics, however, is not confined to the study of small-scale geophysical or socio-cultural phenomena, but equally relates to the designations of towns, cities or states and their inhabitants, including *Česká Lípa* (German *Böhmisch Leipa*) and *Uher(ka/kyně)* and *Mad'ar(ka)* (Hungarian).[4] This article is concerned largely with the latter, especially the ethnonyms (exonyms and endonyms) used of and by the Czech-speaking peoples (as well as of and by contact communities), and the terms applied to the lands that they inhabit and the languages they speak.

Well before the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, scholars and statesmen were occupied by the question of the most appropriate descriptors for Czech and Slovak speakers, and for the territories where they lived. Under the Habsburg Monarchy (1526–1867) and Austria-Hungary (1867–1918), the Bohemians and Moravians were, to varying degrees, separated from each other administratively, but they remained united by a common language, whose name was derived from just one of the two 'ethnic' groups: *český jazyk* or *čeština* (Czech) < *Češi* (the Bohemians). As Spal has observed, the origin of *Čech* (Bohemian) is far from clear, but amongst the more plausible explanations is that it has the root *čel*, as in *čeleď* (family), and also *člověk* (person).[5] According to Sláma, the earliest acknowledged reference to Czechs is in the tenth-century first Old Slavonic Legend of St Wenceslas, where it occurs in the phrase *česki muži* (Czech men), although it only gained general currency a few centuries later.[6]

Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), in his study *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (History of the Bohemian Language and Literature, 1818), identified five main 'dialects' of the 'Slavonic language' — Russian, Polish, Illyrian, Croatian and Czech — the last of which included *moravština* (Moravian), *slezština* (Silesian) and *slovenština*

[3] See, for example, Ladislav Hosák and Rudolf Šrámek, *Místní jména na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, vol. 1 (A–L) and vol. 2 (M–Ž), Prague, 1970 and 1980, and Alena Polívková, *Naše místní jména a jak jich užívat*, Prague, 2007.

[4] In order to save space, feminine forms are largely omitted hereafter.

[5] Jaromír Spal, 'Původ jména Čech', *Naše řeč*, 36, 1953, 9–10, pp. 263–67. See also, Josef Holub, *Stručný slovník etymologický jazyka československého*, Prague, 1937, p. 32; Vladimír Mates, *Jména tajemství zbavená*, Prague, 2002, p. 40, and Jiří Rejzek, *Český etymologický slovník*, Prague, 2001, pp. 112–13.

[6] See Jiří Sláma, 'Boiohaemum-Čechy', in Mikuláš Teich (ed.), *Bohemia in History*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 23–38 (p. 37).

(Slovak).[7] In the absence of a suitable generic term for all Czech speakers, the noun *Slované* (Slavs) was sometimes preferred to *Češi* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it tended to denote a particular type of patriotic, 'nationally' conscious Bohemian or Moravian (in contradistinction to a German-inclined Czech). *Slované* has been used more frequently and more recently in relation to Slovak speakers, not least because Slovak identity has traditionally been defined in terms of their broader Slavonic linguistic and cultural heritage. The inconsistency and overlap in the use of *Slované* and *Slováci* is discussed in detail by Robert Pynsent, with particular reference to the writings of Jan Kollár (1793–1852).[8] It is also illustrated by the first version of the all-Slavonic anthem *Hej, Slované* (Hey, Slavs), which originally appeared under the title *Hej, Slováci* in 1834.[9] Karel Havlíček (1821–56), in a series of articles titled 'Slovan a Čech' (Slav and Czech), rejected Kollár's pan-Slavism, and advocated the development of *austroslavismus* (Austro-Slavism), which broadly supported closer cooperation between Slavs under the Habsburg Monarchy.[10] For much of his life, Palacký embraced the notion of Austro-Slavism as a means of furthering the cause of a federalist state, in opposition to the creation of a *Gross-Deutschland* (that is, Germany, the Austrian lands, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia), and even defined the essence of Czech history in terms of its conflict with Germandom.[11] He himself increasingly used the nominal and adjectival forms *Slovan* and *slovanský* in the contemporary sense of 'Slav(onic)', although he also employed *Čechoslovan*/*československý* (Czechoslav), as against the more modern equivalents *Čechoslovák*/*československý* (Czechoslovak).[12] The alternative adjectival form, *čechoslovanský*, was likewise quite widely adopted by other nineteenth-century scholars, and is included, for example, in Jungmann's seminal Czech-German Dictionary, *Slovník českoněmecký*.[13] The noun *Čechoslované*

[7] See Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*, Princeton, NJ, 1998, p. 75. Except in book titles, the modern spelling with a 'v' (rather than a 'w') is used throughout this article in words such as *slovenština*.

[8] See Robert Pynsent, 'The Myths of Slavness: Pavel Josef Šafařík and Jan Kollár', in *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality*, London, 1994, pp. 43–99 (pp. 60–65).

[9] *Hej, Slováci* was adopted as the Slovak national anthem between 1939 and 1945, and is still regarded by some Slovaks as an unofficial second anthem.

[10] Published in *Pražské noviny*, February–May 1846. See S. E. Mann, 'Karel Havlíček: A Slav Pragmatist', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 39, 1961, 93, pp. 413–22.

[11] See Hugh Lecaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, Stanford, CA, 2004, p. 113.

[12] See, for example, František Palacký, 'Rozbor etymologický místních jmén československanských', *Časopis českého muzea*, 8, 1834, 4, pp. 404–19, and Igor Němec, 'Z historie slov československý a Čechoslováci', *Naše řeč*, 74, 1991, 1, pp. 16–21.

[13] Josef Jungmann, *Slovník českoněmecký* (5 vols), vol. 1, 1835–39, p. 269 <http://www.slownjk.cz/> [accessed 5 November 2010].

(Czechoslavs) is cited in the authoritative Czech encyclopaedia *Ottův slovník naučný* (1888–1909) (under the lemma *Slované*) as the headword for *Čechové* (Czechs/Bohemians), *Moravané* (Moravians), *Slezáci* (Silesians) and *Slováci* (Slovaks),[14] while *československý* is found in the title of the Czech and Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition (*Národopisná výstava československá*), held in 1895. Historically, *Slovan* has tended to have neutral or positive associations for Czechs and Slovaks, whereas the German form *Schlawiner*, previously applied to artful hawkers from Slovenia, is still known in the sense of a 'rogue'.[15]

The debate about the name of the territories occupied by Czech speakers has continued since 1918, with Slovak objections to the unhyphenated version *Československo* (Czechoslovakia) prior to 1989, Czech and Slovak disagreement over the official titles of the country in the early 1990s, and divisions amongst Czechs over the codified short form *Česko* (officially translated as *Czechia*) since 1993. The scope for ironic misinterpretation offered by the title of the Czech national anthem, *Kde domov můj?* (Where is My Home?), which refers merely to *země česká* (the 'Czech' land), has not gone unnoticed by Czech speakers since the piece was first performed in public in 1834. Nowadays, many linguists accept that the 'political' title, *Česká republika* (Czech Republic), is too formal for everyday usage, but the approved single-word 'geographical' variant, *Česko*, has yet to gain universal recognition in spoken Czech, despite its prevalence in the media, the education system and innumerable official publications.[16] In the two most comprehensive spoken corpora, *ČNK – ORAL2006* and *ORAL2008*, there are twenty-seven occurrences of *Česká republika*, but just nine of *Česko*, while the much larger balanced reference corpus of written Czech, *ČNK – SYN2010*, cites *Česká republika* nearly 14,500 times and *Česko* almost 17,500 times.[17]

The first half of this study offers an historical overview of the geographical and linguistic identity of the Czechs, and of the changing official and unofficial titles of the lands inhabited by autochtonomous

[14] *Ottův slovník naučný. Illustrovaná encyklopædie obecných vědomostí* (28 vols), vol. 23, Schlossar-Starowolski, Prague, 1905, p. 429. *Čechové* has now been largely replaced by *Češi*, but it is still used for stylistic effect. *Slezáci* has given way to *Slezané*, although it is found in dialect.

[15] See Pavel Eisner, *Chrám i tvrz*, Prague, 1992, p. 191.

[16] Analysis of usage in the daily newspapers *Lidové noviny*, *Mladá fronta Dnes*, *Právo* and *Hospodářské noviny* shows that, by 2003, *Česko* had become more common than both *Česká republika* and *ČR*. See Václav Cvrček, 'Kdy se z ČR stalo Česko?', *blog.aktuálně.cz*, 3 March 2010 <http://blog.aktualne.centrum.cz/blogy/vaclav-cvrcek.php?itemid=9115> [accessed 16 November 2010].

[17] See *Český národní korpus*, Prague, 2000–10 <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz>. The figures include forms in all cases, and versions containing incorrect use of capitals. *ORAL2006* and *ORAL2008* each comprise one million words, whereas *SYN 2010* comprises 100 million words.

Czech and Slovak speakers, with a particular focus on ethnolinguistic considerations. It reflects in detail on the alternative titles employed in the past for the Czech- and Slovak-speaking territories, the semantic nuances and socio-political implications of the forms adopted, the glossonyms applied to Czech and Slovak, and the designation of nationwide organizations since 1993. The related matter of language use and self-perception is likewise touched upon, in the light of two nationwide surveys conducted on my behalf by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology (CVVM) of the Czech Academy of Sciences: henceforth, 'Attitudes' and 'The Czechs and Slovak'.[18] The second half of the article addresses in depth questions of national and ethnic identity, and considers numerous colloquial and pejorative epithets applied to and by the Bohemians, Moravians and Silesians, both in the past and today. It also looks at Czech perceptions of major contact communities, and vice versa, and broadly concurs with Havlík's division of 'foreign' into 'unproblematic' (especially near neighbours, West Europeans, Americans and other peoples from developed capitalist economies) and 'problematic' (including former inhabitants of the ex-USSR, people from the Far East and Roma, who hail mainly from Slovakia).[19] While surveys suggest that xenophobia is less of a problem in the Czech Republic than in most ex-Communist countries, and is currently declining overall,[20] the Czech lexicon still testifies to its formerly prescriptive concept of belonging, based on historical territorial claims and shared linguistic, cultural and 'patriotic' values. Moreover, it continues to adopt derogatory terms for outsiders, particularly non-Western immigrants, such as *bambus/bambusák* ('bamboo person') for south-east Asians. The final section of the article cites a series of expressions relating to the notions of 'us' and 'them', which further illustrate the well-established dichotomy between Czech and non-Czech.

Reference is made to a wide range of sources, including academic publications, lexicographical works, Czech- and English-language

[18] See Tom Dickins, 'Postoje k výpůjčkám v soudobé češtině', *Naše společnost*, 6, 2008, 1, pp. 14–28; *Attitudes to Lexical Borrowing in the Czech Republic*, Liberec, 2009, and 'Češi a slovenština', *Naše společnost*, 7, 2009, 1, pp. 12–26.

[19] Radomír Havlík, 'Postoje k cizincům a menšinám ve světle sociologického výzkumu', *Paideia: Philosophical E-Journal of Charles University*, 4, 2007, 1–2, pp. 1–8 (pp. 2–3) <http://userweb.pedf.cuni.cz/paideia/download/havlik.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010]. Note that erstwhile 'problematic' foreigners, such as Germans and Hungarians, are now squarely in the 'unproblematic' camp.

[20] See Ivan Gabal, 'Analýza postavení cizinců dlouhodobě žijících v ČR a návrh optimalizačních kroků', *Ivan Gabal Analysis & Consulting*, October 2004, pp. 1–25 <http://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/511/postaveni_cizincu.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010], and Aleš Burjanek, 'Xenofobie po česku – jak si stojíme mezi Evropany?', *Sociální studia*, 6, 2001, pp. 73–89.

corpora, and quantitative empirical data. Although the available scholarship may be extensive and authoritative, it is diffuse, it focuses mainly on standard usage, and it is predominantly written in Czech and German. Moreover, some of it has an overtly polemical character, and overlooks or dismisses too readily important questions relating to naming practices. Particular areas which merit further attention include the nature of the Slovaks' grievances over the terms *Československo* and *československý* (Czechoslovak), the semantic range of *Čech*, *Čechy* (Bohemia) and *český* (Bohemian/Czech), the scope and connotations of colloquial endonyms, such as *Čecháček* (small-minded Czech), and the problems posed by the short forms for *Česká republika* in Czech and other languages.

*Changing geographical identities*

The history of the Czech-speaking lands prior to 1918 has been thoroughly documented in English, but a summary of the relevant details is required here to contextualize the current discussion.[21] Suffice it to say, close linguistic and cultural links between Moravia and Bohemia date back to the ninth century (notwithstanding disruptions in their relations between the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century), although the role of Moravia was not seen as integral to Czech historiography until the mid-nineteenth century. The switch from a Bohemian-focused approach to one which fully embraced Moravia was largely attributable to Palacký, and occurred during the writing of his five-volume history of Bohemia, *Geschichte von Böhmen* (1836–67).[22] More recently, Czech mythopoeia has prioritized several periods which serve both to justify the existence of the nation state and to legitimize the authority of the Czech-speaking majority. Special significance has been accorded to the Great Moravian Empire (*Velkomoravská říše*) (from 833 to 906); the Golden Age of the Kingdom of Bohemia (*České království*) — central among the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (*země Koruny české*) under Charles IV (1346–78), and crucial to Czech territorial claims after the Dark Ages (*období temna*) (from 1620 to around the 1770s); the Hussite movement in the first half of the fifteenth century; the Battle of the White Mountain (1620); the National Revival in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the struggles of the Czechoslovak Legions in the Great War. Hroch has

[21] The earliest substantial studies to appear in English were Robert H. Vickers, *History of Bohemia*, Chicago, IL, 1894, and Count Francis Lutzow, *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch*, London, 1896.

[22] Palacký's change in emphasis is reflected in the title of his Czech translation of his work: *Dějiny národu českého w Čechách a w Moravě* (History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia), Prague, 1848–76 (4 vols).

identified three phases in the National Revival: the period of scholarly activity in the second half of the eighteenth century (Phase A in his schema), the period of patriotic agitation (which was impeded by the policies of the Austrian state) in the first half of the nineteenth century (Phase B), and the rise of a mass national movement in the second half of the nineteenth century (Phase C).[23] At no point before, during or after the National Revival have Czech scholars felt a strong need to distinguish between 'Czech' and 'Bohemian', whether writing in Czech or Latin, as illustrated, inter alia, by the titles of early grammars, including *De Orthographia Bohemica* (Jan Hus, 1410), *Gramatika česká* (Beneš Optát, 1533) and *Lima linguae Bohemicae. To jest: brus jazyka českého* (Jiří Konstanc, 1660). Between 1915 and 1917, Tomáš Masaryk (Czechoslovakia's first president) in exile used the problematic designation *Nezávislé Čechy* (Independent Bohemia) to describe the future state, which in his mind included not only Moravians but also Slovaks.[24]

In other European languages, the term *Bohemia(n)*, in its broader sense relating to the historic Czech-speaking territories, has now largely been replaced by *Czech*. The change began mainly in the nineteenth century, but usage was not standardized until well into the twentieth century. The situation in German was particularly complex, as documented, for example, by Beer and, more recently, Berger.[25] In *Slovník českoněmecký*, the lemma *Čechy* is simply 'defined' as '*země Česká*, Böhmen [*Bohemia*], das Land, Böheim [*Bohemia* (Middle High German)]'.[26] The forms *czechisch*, *čechisch*, *cechisch* and *čzechisch* are all recorded in early to mid-nineteenth-century texts, although they did not represent the norm, and were sometimes semantically restricted to supporters of the national movement.[27] The popularity of *čechisch* and so forth increased in the German press after the revolution of 1848, but the term was rejected by the Upper Chamber of the Bohemian Diet in 1861, with the approval of Palacký. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that German began readily to embrace *čechisch*, *čecho-slawisch* and the like, which increasingly gave way to the spelling

[23] Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 61.

[24] See Libuše Čižmárová, 'K peripetiím vývoje názvů našeho státu a postojů k nim od roku 1918. Příspěvek k 80. výročí vzniku Československé republiky', *Naše řeč*, 82, 1999, 1, pp. 1–15 (p. 2).

[25] See, Antonín Beer, *K dějinám slova böhmisch a čechisch*, Prague, 1917, and Tilman Berger, 'Böhmisch oder Tschechisch? Der Streit uber die adäquate Benennung der Landessprache der böhmischen Länder zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts', no date <http://homepages.uni-tuebingen.de/tilman.berger/Publikationen/Regensburg05.pdf> [accessed 8 October 2009].

[26] *Slovník českoněmecký*, vol. 1, p. 269.

[27] Publications using the term 'čechisch' included František Jan Tomsa, *Über die Aussprache der čechischen Buchstaben, Sylben und Wörter: Nebst Leseübungen*, Prague, 1801.

*tschechisch*. In French, the need for a neutral exonym was accentuated by the fact that by the seventeenth century *bohémien* had become established in the sense of a 'nomad' (and more specifically a 'Gypsy', based on the belief that the Gypsies came from Bohemia [*la Bohême*]). The form *czech* is recorded in the seventeenth-century French lexicon, but it did not gain wider currency, as *tchèque*, until the middle of the nineteenth century.[28] The French expression *bohémien* gave rise to *bohém/bohémský* and so forth in Czech, as well as *bohemian* (with a small 'b') in English, and similar forms in other European languages, but these terms bear little semantic relation to their etymon. In English, *Czech* can similarly be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, although usage and spelling were unsystematic, and as late as the 1930s textbooks continued to employ *Bohemian*, sometimes in conjunction with *Čech* or *Czech*.[29] Seton-Watson refers to the problems associated, prior to the declaration of Czechoslovak independence, with the English terms *Czech* and *Bohemian*, and highlights the deliberations involved in the naming of the 'Anglo-Czech Committee'.[30] Short mentions the forms *Tschechi*, *Zechians*, *Tshekh*, *Tsekh* (from the *Oxford English Dictionary On-Line*), and *Čech* and *Chekh* (found in the first English-language grammar of Czech), as well as the American colloquialism *Cheskey*, and the adjectival variants *Czechian*, *Czechic*, *Czechish* and *Cheskian* (used in Bowring's early literary study). He also cites the derivatives *Czechize* and *Czechization*, which relate to the de-austrianization of Czechoslovakia in the inter-war period.[31]

Czech did adopt some derivatives of the old Czech form *Bohemie*, from Latin *Boiohaemum* (the home of the Celtic Boii) (cf. *Böheim/Beheim*, whence also *Bayern*), such as *bohemista* (Czech scholar) (cf. *češtinář*) and *bohemistika* (Czech studies).[32] However, with the notable exception of *bohemismus* (which tends to denote a Bohemianism, in contradistinction to *moravismus* [a Moravianism]), these derivatives usually embrace

[28] See, for example, Renata Listikova, 'L'image de la Bohême et des tchèques dans les lettres françaises, XVe–XIXe siècles', *Revue des études slaves*, 78, 2007, 4, pp. 475–81, and Paul Bataillard, 'Sur les derniers travaux relatifs aux Bohémiens dans l'Europe orientale', *Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 7, 1872, pp. 748–55.

[29] See, for example, Jaroslav Victor Nigrin, *Bohemian Grammar (Bohemian Made Easy)*, Chicago, IL, 1918, and Bohumil E. Mikula, *Progressive Czech (Bohemian)*, Chicago, IL, 1936.

[30] R. W. Seton-Watson, *Masaryk in England*, Cambridge, 1943, pp. 60–61.

[31] David Short, 'The Broader Czech (and Slovak) Contribution to the English Lexicon', *Central Europe*, 1, 2003, 1, pp. 19–39 (pp. 33–34). See also W. R. Morfill, *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Čech Language*, Oxford, 1899, 'Introduction' (p. v, n. 1), and John Bowring, *Výbor z báznictwi českého – Cheskian Anthology: Being a History of the Poetical Literature of Bohemia, with Translated Specimens*, London, 1832.

[32] For further information on the word 'Bohemia', see Josef Holub and Stanislav Lyer, *Stručný etymologický slovník jazyka českého se zvláštním zřetelem k slovům kulturním a cizím*, Prague, 1978, pp. 101–02.

Moravian and Silesian realities. This strong sense of linguistic and ethnic affiliation to the whole is in contrast to the German sense of *Böhmerland/Böhmen* (Bohemia), *böhmisch* (pertaining to the territory of Bohemia) and *Böhme* (an inhabitant of Bohemia), which have traditionally referred to geographical location.[33] In the eighteenth century, some scholars observed a distinction between people of Czech origin and German Czechs, whom they referred to as *Stockböhmen* (true-born Czechs) and *Deutschböhmen* (*Čechoněmci/čeští Němci*), respectively, but these phrases became increasingly redundant.[34] The term *bohemismus* in Czech was sometimes also employed in the first half of the nineteenth century to connote *Landespatriotismus* or, more precisely, the shared loyalty of the Czech and German burghers and nobles to the historic lands of Bohemia. Palacký, in the spirit of earlier Revivalists, such as Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), interpreted *bohemismus* as an expression of commitment to the concept of a revitalized Bohemian kingdom, with a legacy pre-dating 1620. The Awakeners increasingly saw the Czechs as an ethno-cultural entity, broadly compatible with Friedrich Meinecke's later definition of a *Kulturnation*, in which the development of language was central to the process of 'national' renewal.[35] In Macura's words, 'Language helped to re-define the notion of the country, the "fatherland" as a community of Czech-speaking people and the land they inhabit, the notion of the "nation" which was then strictly limited to users of the Czech tongue'.[36] Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848), on the other hand, conceived the Bohemian territorial nation differently, as a single (Czech/German) spiritual entity, which formed part of an ill-defined, multilingual greater German cultural nation.[37] By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Czechs had largely come to monopolize Bohemian identity, with the result that the *Deutschböhmen* increasingly embraced the idea of a *Gross-Deutschland*.[38] The very term *česká vlast* (Bohemian homeland) was inextricably linked in the minds of the Czech Revivalists to notions of proprietorial rights and 'national'

[33] Bohm and its derivatives remain fixed in Czech in people's surnames. See *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 28–30, and Dobrava Moldanova, *Naše příjmení*, Prague, 1983.

[34] See Mikuláš Teich, 'Introduction', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 1–22 (p. 19, n. 12).

[35] See Ladislav Holy, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 49–50.

[36] Vladimír Macura, 'Problems and Paradoxes of the National Revival', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 182–97 (p. 188).

[37] See, for example, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, p. 110, and *The Coasts of Bohemia*, pp. 57–62.

[38] See Elizabeth Bakke, 'Doomed to failure? The Czechoslovak nation project and the Slovak autonomist reaction 1918–38', PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 18 June 1999, p. 108 <http://folk.uio.no/stveb1/Doomed_to_failure_links.html> [accessed 16 June 2009].

pride, as reflected in the cognates *vlastnictví* (ownership), *vlastenec* (patriot) and *vlastenectví* (patriotism).[39]

Despite the cultural and linguistic affinities between Bohemia and Moravia, the historic differences between the two lands and the self-identities of their peoples should not be understated. For example, as Macek has pointed out, between 1471 and 1526 executive power in Bohemia lay in the hands of the Bohemian Diet, whereas the estates in Moravia enjoyed a significant degree of political autonomy.[40] Even when the Margraviate of Moravia was under Habsburg rule (as part of the remaining territories of Austrian Silesia from the middle of the eighteenth century), there was a degree of suspicion amongst Moravians towards Bohemia. Moravians at the Pan-Slav Congress (2–10 June 1848) were explicit that their province should maintain its independence.[41] Following the failure of the 1848 Revolution to establish a common diet for the two peoples, from 1867 both Moravia and Bohemia pursued broadly similar objectives within Austria-Hungary.

The adjective *český* is nowadays largely unproblematic, but as Elizabeth Bakke has pointed out, it originally had at least three meanings: '*Geographically* it referred to Bohemia (Čechy) as opposed to Moravia, *politically* to the lands of the Czech [*sic*] crown (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia — sometimes also Lusatia), and *culturally* to the Czech nation.'[42] In cultural terms, it is much harder to state what is uniquely Bohemian than what is specifically Moravian. With the exception of a handful of traditional dialects (especially in and around Pilsen) and a few foods and drinks, such as *kuba* (mashed barley and mushrooms) and possibly *becherovka* (Becher's liqueur), there is little which obviously differentiates 'Bohemian' from 'Czech', whereas Moravian identity is distinguished from 'Bohemian' by a range of cultural phenomena, including the existence of numerous dialects, folk customs and song, the scale of the production and consumption of wines and spirits, and (particularly in eastern Moravia) religious observance. It would appear, however, that at a deeper psychological level Bohemians retain a reasonably strong sense of what constitutes their regional identity, as manifest in a series of well-recognized stereotypes. According to perception tests, the Bohemians highlight amongst their positive traits their hard work, dexterity, likeableness and rationalism, while the Moravians focus on their hospitability, kind-heartedness,

[39] See *The Coasts of Bohemia*, p. 57; *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, p. 65, and Josef Petráň and Lydia Petráňová, 'The White Mountain as a Symbol in Modern Czech History', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 143–63 (p. 144).

[40] Josef Macek, 'The Monarchy of the Estates', in ibid., pp. 98–116 (p. 103).

[41] See Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1969, p. 137.

[42] 'Doomed to failure?', p. 135.

pleasantness and adherence to traditions. Both peoples see themselves as intelligent, humorous and sociable, and both agree that the Moravians are hospitable and wed to tradition, whereas the Bohemians are more calculating and affluent.[43]

The geographical and historical connections between *český* and 'Bohemian' are inevitably more readily discernible than the cultural associations. Jungmann's entry for *český* includes reference to 'böhmisch', 'bohemicus', 'Bohemia' and 'Böhmen'.[44] Perhaps even more worthy of note is the entry in the dictionary *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (hereafter, *SSJČ*), which highlights the exent to which *český* retains its associations with 'Bohemian' in a number of common collocations:[45]

> **český** příd. (2. st. češtější) *k Čech, Čechy*: č. národ, jazyk, lid; česká země, vlast, literatura, píseň; nejčeštější básník; č. král; č. lev; č-á kuchyně; č-á husa; č-é sklo; č-á oliva *hlošina* (bot.); č-é země *Čechy a Morava*; č. Němec *pocházející z Čech*; Č-á filharmonie; Č-é vysoké učení technické; hist. země koruny č-é; Království č-é; země Č-á; č-á konfese; čeští bratři; zeměp. Č. les; Č. raj; Č-á Třebová; Č-é Budějovice; Č-é středohoří; miner. č. granát; bot. křivatec č.; ♦ mluvte po česku *česky*, přen. ob. *srozumitelně*; → přísl. **česky**: mluvit č.; č. smýšlet *v českém duchu*; → podst. **českost**,-i ž. *český raz*: ryzí č.; Nerudova č.; č. Smetanovy hudby
>
> **český** adj. (comp. češtější) < *Čech, Čechy*: Cz. nation, language, people; Czech land, native country, literature, song; the most Czech poet; Bohemian king / King of Bohemia; Bohemian lion;[46] Cz. cuisine; Cz. goose; Bohemian glass; *Elaeagnus angustifolia* [literally: Cz. olive] *oleaster* (bot.);[47] Cz. Lands[48] *Bohemia and Moravia*; Cz. German *emanating from Bohemia*; Cz. Philharmonic (Orchestra); Cz. Polytechnic (Institute); hist. Lands of the Bohemian Crown; Kingdom of Bohemia; Bohemian Land; Confessio Bohemica;[49] Cz. Brethren / Bohemian Brethren; geogr. Český les (German: Böhmischer Wald);[50] Český raj (German: Böhmisches

[43] See, for example, Alice Kupčeková, Jiří Seidl and Ivana Svobodová, *iDNES.CZ*, 'Průzkum potvrdil, že se Češi a Moravané liší', 26 November 2005 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/pruzkum-potvrdil-ze-se-cesi-a-moravane-lisi-fep-/domaci.asp?c=A051125_212901_domaci_pat> [accessed 27 August 2009].

[44] *Slovník českoněmecký*, vol. 1, p. 289.

[45] Bohuslav Havránek et al., *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, vol. 1, A–G, Prague, 1989, p. 252 (8 vols) (reprint of first edition, published in 4 volumes, 1960–71). I am enormously indebted to David Short for proposing the inclusion of this dictionary entry, and for making numerous other practical suggestions for this study. Any inaccuracies remain entirely my responsibility.

[46] Symbol on the Czech(oslovak) Coats of Arms.

[47] Russian olive.

[48] More correctly, the Bohemian Crown Lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

[49] Protestant doctrinal statement of 1575.

[50] The highest peaks of the Upper Palatinate Forest (Oberpfälzer Wald) to the north-west of the Bohemian Forest (comprising *Šumava* [Böhmerwald] and *Zadní Bavorský les* [Bayerischer Wald]).

Paradies);[51] Česká Třebová (German: Böhmisch Trübau); České Budějovice (German: [Böhmisch] Budweis); České středohoří (German: Böhmische Mittelgebirge);[52] miner. Bohemian garnet; bot. *Gagea bohemica*;[53] ♦ speak (plain) Czech [*in*] *Czech*, figuratively in common colloquial Czech *comprehensibly*; → adv. **česky**: to speak Cz.; to have a Czech way of thinking *in the Czech spirit*; → noun **českost**,-i fem. *Czech character*: genuine Czechness; Neruda's Czechness;[54] the Czechness of Smetana's music

Explicit reference is made to Bohemia in a series of place names with Moravian counterparts, including *České/Moravské Budějovice* and *Česká/Moravská Třebová*, as well as in geographical locations, such as *východočeský* (east Bohemian) and *severočeský* (north Bohemian). Sometimes the Bohemian dimension is preserved in well-known German and Latin phrases; for instance, *Böhmerwald* and *Confessio Bohemica*. The allusion is also implicit in a few collocations, including *české sklo* and *české kmeny* (Bohemian tribes). Elsewhere, there is little or no obvious connection with Bohemia, as illustrated by the collocations *český národ*, *český jazyk*, *česká země*, *česká literatura*, *Česká republika*, *Česká národní banka* (the Czech National Bank), the town of *Český Těšín* (which is in the Moravian-Silesian region) or the village of *Česká* (near Brno). Nor does any link pertain in other common expressions such as *česká ulička* (literally 'a Czech street' — a tactical move in football), *zlaté české ručičky* (golden Czech hands — an allusion to Czech dexterity and craftsmanship), *česká hlava/lebka* (literally 'a Czech head/skull') and (*tvrdá*) *česká palice* (a [hard] Czech 'loaf'), which all denote an intractable person, or the rhyming phrase *co je české, to je hezké* (what is Czech is nice). According to *ČNK – SYN2010*, amongst the most common collocations of *český* (not relating to the names of places and organizations) are *trh* (market), *literatura*, *reprezentace* (national team, representation), *ekonomika* (economics) and *jazyk*, none of which has specific associations with Bohemia.

Rarely, if ever, does *český* explicitly connote Moravia, although sometimes the two entities combine in a compound phrase, as in *českomoravská nářečí* (Bohemian-Moravian dialects) and *Českomoravská vrchovina* (Bohemian-Moravian Uplands). In at least one title, that of the erstwhile engineering giant *ČKD*, the initialism, which was first used in earnest in the 1950s, conceals a long established link between Bohemia

[51] Bohemian Paradise, also rendered in English as Bohemian Paradoxe.
[52] Sometimes rendered in English as Czech Central Mountains or, less frequently, Bohemian Central Mountains.
[53] Lesser yellow star-of-Bethlehem, also known as Radnor lily.
[54] Jan Neruda, journalist, poet and writer, 1834–91.

and Moravia.[55] Nowadays, some organizations deliberately choose titles which emphasize the Moravian connection; for instance, *Českomoravský fotbalový svaz* (*ČMFS*) (Bohemian and Moravian Football Association [officially translated as 'The Football Association of the Czech Republic']), established 1993, and *Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy* (*KSČM*) (the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia), founded 1990, but such examples are relatively rare (perhaps as a result of the legacy of the Protectorate).

Politically, the use of *český* has changed significantly over time, but since the mid-nineteenth century nobody has ever seriously challenged the idea that the term largely subsumes Moravia. (There are partial parallels here with the use of 'English' and 'England' to denote British phenomena.) Questions about the semantic range of *český* in a broader historical and political context relate more to its tendency to embrace the notions of 'Czechoslovak' and 'Slovak'. For example, the title from 1900 for the Czech and Slovak Olympic Committee was *Český olympijský výbor*, until it became *Československý olympijský výbor* in 1919.[56] Similarly, the title originally adopted by the Czech and Slovak volunteers who fought for the Russian army in 1914 and 1915 was *Česká družina* (Czech Company), before it was renamed in early 1916 *Československý střelecký pluk* (Czechoslovak Rifle Regiment) (sometimes also called *Česko-Slovácký střelecký pluk*), and later that year became *Československá střelecká brigáda* (Czechoslovak Rifle Brigade).[57] Up to 1918, the forms *československanský*/*československácský* (Czechoslav) and *Československan*, and occasionally *Slavočech*, were interchangeable with *československý* and *Československák*, respectively, in reference to the Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians and Slovaks. For the purpose of foreign consumption, it was frequently deemed preferable to omit specific reference to Slovakia, in order to gloss over geo-political complexities and to present a united front in the face of the large German minority; for instance, in the title *Conseil national des pays tchèques* (National Council of the 'Czech' Lands), which replaced Edvard Beneš's *Zahraniční výbor československý* (Czechoslovak Foreign Committee) in February 1916.[58]

[55] Two companies, *Českomoravská-Kolben* and *Breitfeld-Daněk*, merged in 1921 to form *Českomoravská Kolben-Daněk* (but the 'Czech-Moravian' part of the title is attributable to *První česko-moravská továrna na stroje v Praze* [First Czech-Moravian Machine-Making Factory in Prague]), founded in 1871. *Českomoravská Kolben-Daněk* and its constituent companies have operated under various names since 1939, and the initialism exists today in the title *ČKD GROUP*.

[56] See, for example, Bohumil Kvasil et al., *Malá československá encyklopedie*, vol. 1, A–Č, Prague, 1984, pp. 785 and 840. By contrast, *České aerolinie* (Czech Airlines) has retained the abbreviation of the forerunner of the Czechoslovak national carrier, *ČSA*.

[57] All three tend to be abbreviated in writing to *Čs.*, although *Čes. družina* is also found.

[58] See Mary Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, New Haven, CT and London, 2009, pp. 28–29. Note that the official newspaper of the National Council was called *Československá samostatnost* (Czechoslovak Independence).

The lack of a systematic distinction between 'Czech' and 'Czechoslovak' and 'Czech' and 'Slovak' was partly attributable to Tomáš Masaryk, whose own background blurred any clearly-defined sense of ethnic identity. Masaryk was brought up in the border region called Moravian Slovakia, went to grammar school in Brno and Vienna, and from 1872 to 1876 studied at Vienna University. His mother was a German speaker of Czech origin, and his father, a freed Hungarian Slovak serf, spoke Slovak at home. Hence, Masaryk was attuned to a variety of linguistic codes, although, according to Short in discussion, his own spoken literary Czech was reputedly shaky. In conversation with the writer Karel Čapek, Masaryk observed: 'I also tended to speak Slovak — I wasn't aware of any difference between the Hungarian and Moravian Slovaks, amongst whom I grew up as a child.'[59] In 1925, he wrote: 'Since my childhood, I have experienced my Czechness [*češství*] in concrete terms in my appreciation of the pesonalities, views and lives of my compatriots there in Slovácko and Slovakia, and over the course of time, in Moravia and Bohemia.'[60] Marzik has stressed that Masaryk can only technically be called a Moravian Slovak, if the term is interpreted in a purely geographic sense.[61] Bakke has similarly minimized the importance of his Moravian Slovak roots: 'Masaryk's identity seems to have been situational, but predominantly Czech.'[62] Prior to the foundation of the First Republic (1918–38), Masaryk repeatedly described the Hungarian and Moravian Slovaks as part of the Czech nation. Thereafter, he continued to regard the Czechs and Slovaks as a single people divided by the dialects of a common tongue, but he largely avoided defining the nation as either 'Czech' or 'Czechoslovak'. Bakke has noted that 'References to a Czechoslovak nation were curiously absent; instead Masaryk spoke of "we Czechs and Slovaks", "our nation", the "whole nation, the Czechs and Slovaks", and "our Slovaks" — which nevertheless conveyed the idea of one nation'.[63] Masaryk's interpretation of the nation state thus bore a striking resemblance to the German concept of the *Heimat* (homeland) in its parochial sense.[64]

[59] Karel Čapek, *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem*, Prague, 1932, vol. 2 (*Život a práce*), p. 63.
[60] From *Světová revoluce*, cited in Jaroslav Dresler (ed.), *Masarykova abeceda*, Prague, 1990, p. 53 (originally published in Zurich, 1976).
[61] Thomas D. Marzik, 'Masaryk's National Background', in Peter Brock and H. Gordon Skilling (eds), *The Czech Renascence of the Nineteenth Century*, Toronto, 1970, pp. 239–53 (p. 241).
[62] 'Doomed to failure?', p. 194.
[63] Ibid.
[64] See Alexander Götz, 'Domov – otčina / Heimat – Vaterland', in Walter Koschmal, Marek Nekula and Joachim Rogall (eds), *Češi a Němci: dějiny – kultura – politika*, Prague and Litomyšl, 2001, pp. 223–26.

The Constitution of 29 February 1920 cites the concept of the Czechoslovak nation (*národ Československý*) twice in its preamble, but subsequently eschews reference to it altogether.[65] In other official publications and pronouncements in the First Republic, *český národ* (Czech nation) and *náš národ* (our nation) were often employed as synonyms for *československý národ*. The distinction between the adjectives *český* and *československý* remained imprecisely defined until the late 1930s, with Czechs tending to choose the former, except where inexpedient to do so, and Slovaks generally opting for the latter, except where context allowed them to stress their own identity. In practice, many Czechs regarded the Slovaks as a kind of appendage, whose contribution to the creation of the nation state was tangential, while the Slovaks increasingly craved greater opportunity for self-determination. The growing power of Germany acted as a disincentive for Czechs to re-evaluate Czech-Slovak relations, while simultaneously offering some Slovak nationalists greater hope for independence.

Occasionally in the First Republic, preference was given to 'Czechoslovak' over both 'Czech' and 'Slovak', as a means of reinforcing the authority of the eponymous majority, as in the use of *Čechoslováci* (Czechoslovaks) in the 1921 and 1930 censuses.[66] Where data explicitly differentiated between Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak ethnicity, people's preference for the latter two was unambiguous. For example, in the 1930 population census for Ružomberok (in north Slovakia), 11,965 described themselves as Slovaks, 1,736 as Czechs, and just 139 called themselves Czechoslovaks.[67] Such was the prevalence of the idea of *národnost* (nationality, defined in terms of ethnicity) that, throughout the existence of the Czechoslovak state, few Czechs or Slovaks ever referred to themselves in private discourse as a *Čechoslovák* or *Čechoslovačka*. Use of this endonym was largely restricted to international contexts, where the speaker's intention was to demonstrate affiliation to the country as a whole, and to situations where an individual was seeking to indicate integration into another ethnic group.[68] Nábělková and Sloboda have suggested that the noun 'Czechoslovak' has been applied

[65] The full text of the Constitution, 'Zákon č. 121/1920 Sb. Národního shromáždění, kterým se uvozuje ústavní listina Československé republiky', is available at <http://spcp.prf.cuni.cz/lex/121-20.htm>.

[66] See, for example, Gabriela Šamanová, 'Národnost ve sčítání lidu v českých zemích', *Naše společnost*, 1, 2005, pp. 1–13 (p. 5). Note that in a broader sense the noun *Čechoslovák* denoted any citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic, including German speakers.

[67] Cited in 'Doomed to failure?', p. 304.

[68] The question of 'national' identity is addressed in detail by Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948*, Princeton, NJ, 2002, and Kateřina Čapková, *Češi, Němci, Židé? Národní identita Židů v Čechách, 1918–1938*, Prague, 2005.

most typically to the following people: professional soldiers in the former Czecholsovak army; current Czech-Slovak troops serving abroad; sportsmen and women and coaches in a Czech-Slovak environment; children brought up in mixed Czech-Slovak families; Slovaks who have lived in the Czech Republic, and Czechs who have lived in Slovakia.[69]

*Official and semi-official titles up to 1993*

The names of the Czechoslovak polity and its constituent territories have changed so many times since the foundation of the First Republic in 1918 that the precise details are sometimes lost even on historians. The basic facts are as follows. The Cleveland Agreement of 23 October 1915 represented the first serious proposal for the establishment of a common state, comprising independent Czech and Slovak territorial nations, and formed the basis for the more explicit Pittsburgh Agreement of 30 May 1918, issued in Slovak by the Czecho-Slovak National Council (*Česko-Slovenská Národná Rada*).[70] (Note the use of capitals.) While the former made no specific reference to 'Czechoslovakia', the latter referred to the creation of a 'Czecho-Slovak State' (*Česko-slovenský štát*), in which Slovakia (*Slovensko*) would have its own administration.[71] The Pittsburgh Agreement was later repeatedly invoked by Slovaks in favour of greater autonomy, although Masaryk argued that the Slovaks had committed themselves to a unitary Czechoslovak authority on 1 May 1918 in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, and subsequently on 30 October in Turčianský Svätý Martin.[72] The Washington Declaration of 18 October 1918, issued by *československá Národní rada* in the name of the 'Czechoslovak nation', spoke of the 'Czechoslovak land' (*československá země*) as a 'a free and independent nation and state', and union between the Czech lands and Slovakia was declared on 28 October.[73] The capitulation by the Austrian authorities on 30 October 1918 did not go unopposed by the German-speaking population, and briefly led to the

[69] Mira Nábělková and Marián Sloboda, 'Comparing 'Trasjanka' and 'Československenčina' (Czechoslovak) as Discursive Categories: History and Current Usage', courtesy of Marián Sloboda; to appear in G. Hentschel, O. Taranenko, C. Woolhiser and S. Zaprudski (eds), *Studies on Belarusian Trasjanka and Ukrainian Suržyk as Results of Belarusian-Russian and Ukrainian-Russian Language Contacts* (forthcoming), pp. 1–26 (p. 10).

[70] See, for example, Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival*, New York, 1995, pp. 150–51.

[71] According to Kirschbaum, ibid., p. 9, the term *Slovensko* was first used publicly in 1849 to describe the Slovak-speaking lands of Upper Hungary (Czech *Horní Uhry*).

[72] See 'Doomed to failure?', pp. 481–97. The Martin Declaration used the term *česko-slovenský národ* (the Czecho-Slovak nation), but it also referred to the Slovaks as a branch of *český národ* (the Czech nation).

[73] See T. G. Masaryk, Milan R. Štefánik and Edvard Beneš, *18. října – vyhlášena Washingtonská deklarace – 1918*, Paris, 18 October 1918 <http://svornost.com/?p=1835> [accessed 3 December 2010].

establishment of a government of *Deutschböhmen*, which, together with representatives of the *Sudetendeutsche* (Sudeten Germans), reported to Vienna.[74] Nor did Czechoslovak independence go unchallenged by Béla Kun's Soviet Republic of Hungary, which set up a puppet state in eastern and southern Slovakia (from 16 June to 7 July 1919), known as *Slovenská republika rád* (Czech *rad*) (Slovak Republic of Councils), or by the Poles, who were engaged in conflicts over the Slovak districts of Spiš and Orava in 1919, and over Teschen Silesia until 1925. The Washington Declaration provided the framework for the doctrine known as *čechoslovakismus* (Czechoslovakism), which promoted the concept of a single Czechoslovak nation, comprising Czech and Slovak branches, within a unitary structure.[75] In the Declaration, Czechoslovakia was referred to as *československý stát* (the Czechoslovak state), but elsewhere it was also written as *česko-slovenský štát* (in Slovak), and less formally *Československo* and *Česko-Slovensko*.

The First Czechoslovak Republic, comprising *Čechy*, *Morava*, *Země Slezská* (the Silesian Land) and *Slovensko*, was established on 14 November 1918, and expanded to include *Podkarpatská Rus* (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) on 8 May 1919.[76] The titles *republika Česko-Slovenská* and *Česko-Slovenská republika* (with inconsistencies in the use of capitals, and the hyphen sometimes omitted), generally abbreviated to *RČS*, were formally adopted, together with the appellation *Česko-Slovensko* (possibly by analogy with *Rakousko-Uhersko* [Austria-Hungary]).[77] A number of names for the constituent parts of the state were used informally, including *České země* (the Czech lands), *Slovenská krajina* (the Slovak Land), *Slezsko* (Silesia) and several for Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, such as (*Karpatské*) *Rusinsko* ([Carpathian] Ruthenia), *Karpatská Rus* (Carpathian Rus), *Podkarpatsko* (Subcarpathia), *Podkarpatská Ukrajina* (Subcarpathian Ukraine), *Zakarpatsko* (Transcarpathia) and *Zakarpatská*

[74] See Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Czechs & Germans: A Study of the Struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia*, London, Melbourne and Toronto, 1967, pp. 79–86. Teich, *Bohemia in History*, p. 19, has noted that the concept of *Sudetendeutsche* only came into use after Czech independence. The Czechs have consistently preferred the term *pohraničí* (the borderlands) to *Sudety* (the Sudetenland), although *Sudety* is employed by historians, and *Sudeťáci* (Sudeten Germans) has been used pejoratively.

[75] For a detailed analysis of the roots of Czechoslovakism, see David Short, 'The Use and Abuse of the Language Argument in Mid-Nineteenth-Century "Czechoslovakism": An Appraisal of a Propaganda Milestone', in Robert B. Pynsent (ed.), *The Literature of Nationalism*, Basingstoke and London, 1996, pp. 40–65, and Jan Rychlík, 'Čechoslovanství a čechoslovakismus', in *Češi a Němci*, pp. 64–71.

[76] The population of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, which was mainly rural and ethnically mixed, numbered fewer than three-quarters of a million in 1921 and 1930. Notwithstanding the presence there of a significant number of Czech advisers and specialists, links with Prague were always fairly tenuous.

[77] Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, p. xv, applies the hyphenated form from 28–30 October 1918 to 29 February 1920.

*Ukrajina* (Transcarpathian Ukraine). From 1920 to 1938, the officially-endorsed titles for the state changed to *Československá republika* (*ČSR* or *Čsl. republika*) and *republika Československá* (*RČS*), together with *Československo*, without a hyphen. In 1927, Moravia and Silesia combined to form *Moravoslezsko* (Moravian-Silesia), and *Podkarpatská Rus* was officially renamed *Země* (Slovak *Krajina*) *podkarpatoruská* (Subcarpathian Ruthenian Land). The Munich Agreement, signed on 30 September 1938, sanctioned the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and effectively marked the end of Czechoslovakism. The Czech lands, less the Sudetenland (which included most of the Moravian-Silesian Lands), became known in German by the pejorative colloquialism *Rest-Tschechei* (Rump Czechia or, in the English-language media and later histories, 'the rump Czechoslovakia').[78]

The Second Czechoslovak Republic (1 October 1938 to 14 March 1939), introduced a new federal structure, comprising the remaining 62 per cent of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, under the title *Republika česko-slovenská* (*Č-SR*), or informally *Česko-Slovensko*.[79] In late 1938, Hungary seized southern Slovakia and substantial territories from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Poland took control of most of Těšínsko, as well as Spiš and Orava, and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was renamed *Karpatská Ukrajina* (Carpathian Ukraine) (Ukrainian *Karpats'ka Ukrayina*). On 14 March 1939, in response to German pressure, Slovakia declared independence, and set up a puppet state, called officially *Slovenská republika*, and less formally *Slovenský štát* (Czech *stát*) (the Slovak State). The following day, Moravia and Bohemia became the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, *protektorát Čechy a Morava*, or informally *protektorát*, occasionally also called *protektorát Bohemie a Morava* (German *Reichsprotektorat Böhmen und Mähren*, or simply *Protektorat* [*Böhmen und Mähren*],[80] or unofficially *Tschechei/Rest-Tschechei*). At the same time, Carpathian Ukraine declared itself an independent republic, under the title *Republika Karpatská Ukrajina*, but it was immediately annexed by the Hungarians, and was subsequently generally referred to, until the end of the war, as *Podkarpatsko* (Hungarian *Karpátalja*).

[78] For further information on *Tschechei*, see Michael Havlin, 'Die "Tschechei". Zur historischen Semantik eines (un-)gebräuchlichen Toponyms', in Steffen Höhne, Roman Mikuláš, Marek Nekula and Milan Tvrdík (eds), *Germanistisches Jahrbuch Tschechien-Slowakei*, 17, Prague, 2009, pp. 243–61.

[79] See Theodor Prochazka, 'The Second Republic', in Victor S. Mamatey and Radomír Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–1948*, Princeton, NJ, 1973, pp. 255–70 (pp. 260–61).

[80] Optimistic wags sometimes used the near homophone *pro tentokrát* (just this once); see Vladimír Mates, *Jména tajemství zbavená aneb Příjmení pod mikroskopem*, 3, Prague, 2004, p. 22 (n. 3).

In April 1945, the socialist-orientated Third Republic (1945–48) readopted the titles *Československá republika* (*ČSR*) and *Československo* (based largely on the April 1925 borders, but without Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, which was formally ceded to the Soviet Union on 29 June 1945). Silesia was renamed *Slezská expozitura země Moravskoslezské* (the Silesian Branch of the Moravian-Silesian Land), and four years later it was divided between the Ostrava and Olomouc Regions. Members of the National Front government and others frequently expressed their commitment to the new socialist order by using terms such as *lidovláda* (government by the people), *lidový stát* (people's state), *lidová demokracie* (people's democracy) and *lidově demokratická Československá republika* (Czechoslovak People's Democratic Republic). President Beneš understood the tautology *lidová demokracie* to mean a democracy based on socialist principles, or *demokracie socializující* ('socializing' democracy), whereas the Communists generally interpreted it as proletarian democracy, and it was in the latter sense that it was subsequently adopted throughout the Soviet Bloc and beyond.[81]

The Communist authorities, who assumed power in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, retained the existing titles for the state, but drew an even clearer distinction between the new style of governance, *lidově-demokratická republika* or *lidová demokracie*, and the pre-war multi-party democracy, which they sometimes labelled dismissively as *předmnichovská buržoazní republika/demokracie* (Pre-Munich bourgeois Republic/democracy). In April 1960, Silesia was incorporated into the North Moravian Region (*Severomoravský kraj*). Three months later, a new Constitution meaninglessly proclaimed the victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia, which was marked by a change in the status of the country to a socialist democracy (*socialistická demokracie*), and a new official name: *Československá socialistická republika* (*ČSSR*) (the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic). In January 1969, in response to Slovak demands for greater independence during the Prague Spring, the Communist authorities established a federation, comprising the Czech Socialist Republic (*Česká socialistická republika*) (*ČSR*) and the Slovak Socialist Republic (*Slovenská socialistická republika*) (*SSR*).[82]

The collapse of Communism in 1989 led to a heated debate about the official name of the state, as well as to a new spelling for *Česko-Slovensko* in Slovak, and to the deletion of the word *socialistická* in

[81] For an overview of Beneš's perception of post-war democracy, see Curt F. Beck, 'Can Communism and Democracy Coexist? Beneš's Answer', *American Slavic and East European Review*, 11, 1952, 3, pp. 189–206.

[82] While Slovakia enjoyed greater autonomy than in the past, the powers of both the Czech and Slovak National Councils, as well as the Federal Assembly, were strictly controlled by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

the titles *Česká republika* (*ČR*) and *Slovenská republika* (*SR*). The sensitive question of the role of hyphenation, which became known as the 'dash war' (*pomlčková válka*) (simply because most Czechs do not distinguish properly between 'pomlčka' [dash] and 'spojovník' [hyphen]), was briefly settled in the spring of 1990 by the introduction of the dual forms *Československá federativní republika* (in Czech) and *Česko-slovenská federatívna republika* (in Slovak) (Czechoslovak Federal Republic) (*ČSFR* in both languages).[83] The compromise forms, however, satisfied neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks, and were replaced almost immediately by *Česká a Slovenská Federativní* (Slovak *Federatívna*) *Republika* (Czech and Slovak Federal Republic) (*ČSFR*), following an intense debate about the capitalization of the 'S' in *Slovenská*, as well as the 'F' and 'R' in *Federativní* and *Republika* (all of which contravene Czech orthographic conventions). The dissolution of Czechoslovakia on 31 December 1992 finally resolved the matter, with the Czechs opting for *Česká republika* (ČR) and, after further discussion, the informal designation *Česko* (see below), and the Slovaks sticking to *Slovenská republika* (*SR*) and *Slovensko*. In 2000, Silesia split along the lines of the 1949 partition, and in 2001 it was divided between Moravian-Silesia and part of the Olomouc region.

The term *Československo* has had its detractors ever since the idea of a Czechoslovak state was first mooted. Some members of the Slovak League originally proposed *Slavia* as a more neutral alternative, and Karel Čapek argued in the early 1920s that *Československo* was an unmelodious, artificial compound, which sounded amusing to foreigners.[84] Robert Pynsent appears to endorse Čapek's view in his fascinating essay on post-war Czech literature, in which he contrasts 'Bohemia' with 'the indigestible dumpling of a name', 'Czechoslovakia'.[85] Opponents of *Československo* could likewise point to inconsistencies in its spelling, not only in Czech, but also in Czech-influenced German (*Čechoslowakei*, *Cechoslowakei*, *Tschechoslovakei* and even *Czechoslowakei*, plus derivatives and hyphenated versions), and to the fact that in certain languages the name lent itself to slangy short forms, which excluded explicit reference to Slovakia (for example, English *Czecho*, and Hungarian *Cseszkó* < *Cseh-Szlovákia*). Slovaks could similarly highlight the tendency of speakers of Polish, with its long established single-word expression for Bohemia, *Czechy* (whence the unusual English spelling), to over-extend its meaning to apply to all the Czech lands and even to the whole of Czechoslovakia.

[83] Some historians, including Heimann, prefer the term 'Federative' in English.
[84] See 'K peripetiím vývoje názvů', pp. 2–3.
[85] Robert Pynsent, 'Conclusory Essay: Activists, Jews, the Little Czech Man, and Germans', *Central Europe*, 5, 2007, 2, pp. 211–333 (p. 211).

Slovak sensitivities over the Czechs' misuse of *Československo* were clearly not motivated by puristic concerns about language per se, but reflected a deeply-held conviction that it embodied the notion of 'Czech-cum-Slovak', rather than 'Czech and Slovak', to use Pynsent's terms of reference.[86] Notwithstanding the Second World War years, after 1918 the Czechs never seriously questioned the legitimacy of their historical rights to the Lands of the Bohemian Crown or their de facto role as the elder brother in the Czech-Slovak relationship. The Slovaks, on the other hand, had a much less well-developed sense of 'national' identity prior to the nineteenth century, and had to go back to the Great Moravian Empire — renamed by some Slovak patriots as *Veľkoslovenská ríša* (the Great Slovak Empire)[87] — for a source of romantic inspiration which could legitimize their claims to a land for centuries under Magyar domination. Such was the Slovak yearning for recognition within Czechoslovakia that, from their perspective, it eclipsed virtually all other nationality questions.[88]

The Czechs' dominance over the Slovaks has arguably been mirrored, albeit on a more symbolic level and in a less emotionally-charged way, by the Bohemians' assumption of the leading role in the Czech-speaking lands, as evidenced by the not infrequent use of *Čechy* to denote both Bohemia and Moravia. (A major difference is that much of Moravia is conspicuously more affluent than Slovakia, and Moravia has long felt itself to be an integral part of the ruling ethnie.) The semantic relationship between *Čechy* and *Morava* is not altogether straightforward: *Morava* always excludes Bohemians, whereas *Čechy* implicitly excludes non-Bohemians, whilst only explicitly excluding them in phrases such as *Čechy a Morava* (Bohemia and Moravia) and *Čechy, Morava a Slezsko* (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia). Just as the term 'man' may be either a hypernym or a co-hyponym of 'woman', *Čechy* may be either a superordinate of *Morava* or may constitute a geographically-delimited part of a greater whole. (There are some rare exceptions, such as the Moravian village of *Čechy pod Kosířem*, which bears the name of Bohemia.) Fans of the Czech national football team have been known to chant '*Čechy do toho*' (Come on, *Čechy*), in preference to the more neutral-sounding '*Češi do toho*' (Come on, Czechs), but it seems unlikely that this implies any metalinguistic reflection on the contribution of Moravian players. Some Moravian and Bohemian patriots, on the other hand, may use *Čechy* to differentiate between their respective lands, while the cultural organization, the

[86] See *Questions of Identity*, p. 163.
[87] See, for example, Tomáš J. Veteška, *Veľkoslovenská ríša*, Hamilton, Ontario, 1987.
[88] See especially Eric Stein, *Czecho/Slovakia: Ethnic Conflict, Constitutional Fissure, Negotiated Breakup*, Michigan, 2000.

Moravian National Congress, has called for this distinction to be formalized in a new title for the country: *Republika Čechy a Morava* (Republic of Bohemia and Moravia).[89] Moravians, especially speakers of Brno dialect (*hantec*), occasionally also employ the colloquial exonym *Švédsko* (literally 'Sweden') for 'Bohemia'. The provenance of *Švédsko* is unclear — it is possibly attributable to the capture of Prague by the Swedes in 1631, although it may likewise be reinforced by the near homophone *švestka* (plum). Another pejorative Moravian colloquialism recorded for 'Bohemia' is *Cajsko* (derived from *cajzl*; see later), but its use would appear to be confined to an even smaller number of speakers.

The asymmetrical relationship between *Morava* and (*České*) *Slezsko* ([Czech] Silesia) superficially parallels that between *Čechy* and *Morava*, since (Czech) Silesia has effectively been subsumed in most people's consciousness into Moravia. However, the complex history of this area and the nature of its relationship with Prussia and Austria-Hungary, as well as with Moravia and the Czech lands as a whole, and with Poland and Germany, render the analogy largely redundant. It is sufficient to note here that Czech Silesia is broadly coterminous with the area occupied before 1918 by Upper Silesia (*Horní Slezsko*) (German *Oberschlesien*; Polish *Górny Śląsk*) in the Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia, also known as Austrian Silesia (*Rakouské Slezsko*) (German *Österreichisch-Schlesien*). Czech Silesia's frequent changes of guises have come both in indirect and direct response to German pressure, and as a result of the desire of the authorities in the First Republic and under Communism to lessen the possibility of the emergence of a strong Silesian identity.

There are few colloquial terms in Czech for either Moravia or Silesia, but the affectionate forms *Moravěnka* and *Moravička*, and the dialectal variant *Slezská*, are all recorded in the dictionary *Příruční slovník jazyka českého* (hereafter, *PSJČ*).[90] Moreover, *Šlonzácko* is still widely used for the historically-disputed area of Teschen Silesia, variously referred to in Czech as (*České*) *Těšínsko*/*Českotěšínsko*, *Těšínské Slezsko* and *Zaolší*/*Zaolží* (cf. Polish *Śląsk Cieszyński* and *Zaolzie*; see also *Šlonzáci*, cited later). The German forms *Mährenland* and *Mähren* and *Schlesien* were, of course, likewise well known in the past.

[89] ČTK, 'Kongres Moravanů odmítl říkat Česko', 9 October 2004 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/domaci.asp?r=domaci&c=A041009_180859_domaci_jan> [accessed 22 November 2010].

[90] *Příruční slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1937–38 (8 vols), vol. 2, K–M, p. 941, and vol. 5, S–Š, p. 364.

*Titles for the Czech-speaking lands*

The conspicuous absence of a universally-accepted, informal one-word title in Czech for the Czech lands has been the subject of a continuous and sometimes heated discussion. Most scholars accept the need for a short form for *Česká republika*, but all the alternatives proposed have met with resistance. Trávníček wrote a series of articles in December 1938 and January 1939 in *Lidové noviny*, in which he championed the cause of *Česko*, but his arguments had an uncharacteristically defensive tone, which suggested that his views were far from unanimously shared.[91] Not even the inclusion of *Česko* in three editions of the dictionary *Slovník jazyka českého* (1941, 1946 and 1952) (hereafter, *SJČ*) significantly consolidated its status.[92] In 1949, Trávníček reignited the debate in another article in *Lidové noviny*, in which he stressed that, despite its infrequent usage, *Česko* had a long tradition. (Its earliest recorded usage dates back to a methodology manual for teachers in 1777.)[93] However, the response to Trávníček's comments was again largely critical. One semi-anonymous contributor advocated *Češsko*, which reflected the older Czech spelling '-šs-', but, as Trávníček pointed out in a follow-up article, it was based on a false analogy with *Lašsko* (< *Lach*) and *Valašsko* (< *Valach*).[94] In the next two decades, there was relatively little discussion of the matter, and *Česko* was summarily dismissed with the symbol of a cross as 'outdated' in *SSJČ* (1960).[95] It was only in 1968, as a result of Slovak demands for federalism, that the subject became topical once more. In a short, but incisive contribution, Bělič reiterated Trávníček's viewpoints, and asserted that: 'There cannot be arguments against *Česko* on the grounds of linguistic correctness: it is a noun created absolutely according to the rules from the adjective *český*, just like *Slovensko* [Slovakia] from *slovenský* [Slovak], and *Rusko* [Russia] from *ruský* [Russian] etc.'[96] Despite some predictable opposition to Bělič, linguists increasingly accepted that there was at least a theoretically strong case for *Česko*. A symbolically important turning-point came in 1978, when the authoritative Czech Language Institute dictionary *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* recognized the term, although even then it remained somewhat peripheral (and probably continued to be more widely used in Slovak than in Czech).[97]

[91] For further details, see 'K peripetiím vývoje názvů', pp. 4–5.

[92] Pavel Váša and František Trávníček, *Slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1937 (2 vols), 1941 and 1946, and František Trávníček, *Slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1952.

[93] See *Knihy metodní pro učitele českých škol*, p. 333, kept in the Czech Language Institute Lexical Archive.

[94] See 'K peripetiím vývoje názvů', pp. 5–6.

[95] See *SSJČ*, vol. 1, A–G, p. 251.

[96] Jaromír Bělič, 'Čech – Česko?', *Naše řeč*, 51, 1968, 5, pp. 299–301 (p. 300).

[97] Josef Filipec and František Daneš et al., *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*, Prague, 1978, p. 762.

After the break-up of Czechoslovakia, advocates of a short 'geographical' form grew more vociferous, and in 1993, the Czech Terminological Committee quickly approved *Česko*. However, despite enjoying the blessing of government institutions, eminent linguists such as Alexandr Stich (1934–2003), and much of the media, *Česko* remains a controversial term.[98] Czech academics and policy makers have been so keen to assert the historical and linguistic legitimacy of *Česko* that they have underplayed the unpalatable truth, spelt out by Marvan, and again recently by Velíšek, that *Česko* has not been popular amongst Czechs.[99] As Stich himself conceded, *Česko* suffers from the fact that it is not 'neutral, and stylistically and emotionally unmarked'.[100] Several leading figures, including Václav Havel and the writer Ludvík Vaculík, have railed against *Česko*, and even President Klaus has expressed misgivings.[101] *Česko* may be gaining ground amongst younger speakers, but it has not yet fully established itself even in situations where it might be deemed stylistically suited, such as the discourse and paraphernalia accompanying international sports events.

Surprisingly, there have been relatively few nationwide perception tests of different names for the country, although the limited evidence available indicates that attitudes to *Česko* and *Česká republika* have begun to shift. A poll conducted in 1997 found that just 15 per cent had any objections to the official title, whereas 55 per cent were opposed to *Česko*, while by 2004, 46.3 per cent of Czechs favoured the use of *Česko*, with 24 per cent preferring to stick to *Česká republika*, and 18.4 per cent opting, more problematically, for *Čechy*.[102] In reality, many speakers appear to avoid both expressions in everyday communication, either on (somewhat ill-defined) aesthetic grounds or because they are simply not accustomed to using them. It is striking how often the phrases *v České republice* and *v Česku* (in the Czech Republic) are substituted by alternatives, such as *v Čechách* (in Bohemia), *v Republice* (in the Republic), *v naší zemi* (in our country), *v této zemi* (in this country), *na našem území*

[98] See Alexandr Stich, 'Země beze jména?', in *Alexandr Stich: Jazykověda věc veřejná*, Prague, 2004, pp. 228–32 (originally published in *Lidové noviny*, 30 October 1996).

[99] See Jiří Marvan, *Brána jazykem otvíraná aneb o češtině světové*, Prague, 2004, pp. 172–177 and 382, and Zdeněk Velíšek, 'What's in a Name? Identity Politics in "Czechia"', *The New Presence*, 3, 2009, pp. 8–9 (p. 8).

[100] See Alexandr Stich, 'Čech, český, Čechy, Česko . . .', in *Češi a Němci*, pp. 11–17 (p. 12).

[101] See 'K peripetiím vývoje názvů', p. 11.

[102] Polls conducted for the organization 'Česká společnost pro propagaci' and for Jitka Sýkorová by the agency Factum; see Simona Holecová, 'Odmítané Česko proniká do škol', *iDNES.CZ*, 26 November 1999 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/odmitane-cesko-pronika-do-skol-de7-/domaci.asp?c=991126_090903_domaci_itu>, and 'Česko je správný název, shodlo se slyšení', *iDNES.CZ*, 11 May 2004 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/domaci.asp?r=domaci&c=A040511_135608_domaci_mad&t=A040511_135608_domaci_mad&r2=domaci%3C/p%3E%3Cp> [accessed 22 November 2010].

(on our territory), *u nás* (*doma*) (in our country; at home; cf. German 'bei uns', French 'chez nous') or (especially amongst older émigrés) *v Československu* (in Czechoslovakia).[103] In written Czech, the abbreviation *ČR* (or in English CZ) sometimes functions as a compromise between the informality of *Česko* and the formality of *Česká republika*.[104] Some people have proposed other single-word titles, including *Čechie* or *Českomoravsko*, but the former, despite its strong pedigree, is too poetic-sounding, and reminiscent of the despised Nazi term *Tschechei*, and the latter is long-winded (and implicitly excludes Silesians). Other neologisms that have been suggested (sometimes jokingly), such as *Čechrava* (also an herbaceous plant of the Astilbe Arendsii group) and *Čechavy* (< *Čechy* and *Morava*), *Českozemsko* (cf. *Nizozemsko* [the Netherlands]) and *Čechoslávie*, neither have historical precedents nor offer the brevity of *Česko*.

The degree of acceptance of short forms for the Czech Republic in foreign languages varies significantly. Some languages have largely embraced a new descriptor; for instance, French *Tchéquie*, German *Tschechien* and Spanish *Chequía*. Others have proven more resistant. Neither *Czechia* in English nor *Cechia* in Italian (which is perhaps too close to *cieca* [blind woman]) have become so well established, despite their endorsement in 1993 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, and their appearance in official geographical lists.[105] There can be few precedents of a small state attempting to impose usage of this type on the speakers of major foreign languages, so it is difficult to predict the likely degree of acceptance of the promoted forms. For what it is worth, a poll conducted in 2006 found that ordinary Czechs overwhelmingly prefer the adjectival form *Czech* (used as an odd-sounding substantive in English) to *Czechia*, *Czechlands* and *Czecho*.[106] Amongst native English speakers, *Czecho*, the misnomer *Czechoslovakia* (cf. continued references to 'Yugoslavia'), the *Czech-speaking lands* and the *Czechland(s)*, all appear to be more common than *Czechia*, for which there is only one citation in the Bank of English corpus.[107] It is striking that even English-speaking Bohemicists are

[103] Corpora do not provide conclusive information on usage because of the difficulty of disambiguating intender speaker meaning in the phrases *v Čechách*, *u nás* and *v Československu*.

[104] The former initialisms *ČSR* and *ČSSR* were perhaps influenced by the existence of USA and USSR.

[105] Pavel Boháč, *Geografické názvoslovné seznamy OSN – ČR: Jména států a jejich územních částí*, Prague, 1993.

[106] 'Které anglické označení České republiky se vám líbí nejvíce?', iDNES.CZ, 2 March 2006 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/ankety.asp?id=BKTERANG> [accessed 22 November 2010]. The preferences expressed were *Czech* – 13,340, *Czechia* – 4,412, *Czechlands* – 1,113, and *Czecho* – 366.

[107] *The Bank of English* comprised 450 million words in 2007. See <http://www.titania.bham.ac.uk/>.

reluctant to adopt *Czechia*, and in some cases oppose it on the not altogether rational grounds of euphony. To some extent, the Czechs recognize the anomaly of the situation, as exemplified in the variety of terms which they use to promote themselves abroad, including *Czech/CZ made* (which invites the unfortunate pun *šmejd* [junk]), *Made in Czechia*, *Made in (the) Czech Republic*, *Made in Czech R./Rep./CR/CZ*, *Czech (Team)* or *Czech Republic* (on sports kit), *Czech beer* or *Brewed in Bohemia/the Czech Republic/in Plzeň*, *Czech* (on the Prazdroj bottle) and *Moravian wine*.

*Linguistic identity*

The history of the Czech and Slovak languages, and the asymmetrical relationship between them, has been extensively documented by Berger, Nábělková and others, but a brief summary is needed here to contextualize linguistic practice in the First Republic.[108] The development of Slovak was strongly influenced by literary Czech from the late fourteenth to the nineteenth century, as a result of religious and educational contact, and in the absence of a standardized form of written Slovak.[109] Slovak was codified in the 1840s, but by the mid-1870s it had been banned from schools in Upper Hungary, with inevitable consequences for the literacy and the economic progress of Slovak speakers. In order to overcome Slovak backwardness, after 1918 the Czechs embarked on a programme of educational and administrative reorganization in Slovakia, which depended heavily on the use of Czech and Czech personnel.

For all the achievements of the First Republic, its language policy was, at best, flawed. The inability of Masaryk's government to satisfy the grievances of the German-speaking community (who numbered over three million in the 1921 and 1930 censuses), and the speakers of other minority languages (around a million and a half in both censuses) is perhaps understandable, in view of the barely-reconcilable nature of their differences, but its lack of appreciation of Slovak linguistic sentiment constituted a serious failing.[110] The attitude of the Czech authorities to Slovak can be summed up in a remark by the respected linguist, Weingart, in 1918: 'Slovak, even though it has achieved the status of a literary language, is not, to put it bluntly, a separate

[108] Tilman Berger, 'Slovaks in Czechia – Czechs in Slovakia', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 162, 2003, pp. 19–39, and Mira Nábělková, 'Closely-Related Languages in Contact: Czech, Slovak, "Czechoslovak"', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 183, 2007, pp. 53–73.

[109] Written Slovak can be traced back to the fourteenth century, but usage was not systematic, and throughout the following five centuries educated Slovaks tended to opt for a Slovakized form of Czech (when not using Latin).

[110] For census details, see See Václav L. Beneš, 'Czechoslovak Democracy and its Problems 1918–1920', in Mamatey and Luža (eds), *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–1948*, pp. 39–98 (p. 40).

Slavonic language, but just another, regional form of the joint Czechoslovak language [*jazyk československý*].'[111] In 1920, the Language Law defined 'the Czechoslovak language' as 'the official state language of the Republic', as spoken by the 'Czechoslovak nation', which comprised two branches, Czech and Slovak.[112] To classify Czech and Slovak as variants of the same tongue might have represented a practical sociolinguistic solution to the potential problem of Slovak marginalization, had the specified language been at a mid-point on the Czech–Slovak dialect continuum. However, the basis of *československenština* (the unified Czechoslovak language) was *spisovná čeština* (literary Czech), rather than either an intermediate central-eastern Moravian dialect or a west Slovak dialect. Attempts to introduce *československenština* into the curriculum foundered, not least because in practice Slovak schoolchildren were expected to achieve far greater proficiency in Czech than Czech children were in Slovak.[113] While the two varieties of *československenština* may have enjoyed de jure parity in the First Republic, Czech was de facto the language of central administration and state affairs, and was the principal source of specialized terminology, especially in science and technology.[114] The asymmetrical relationship was symbolically reinforced by the fact that in official contexts Slovaks were expected to employ the term *jazyk československý*, whereas Czechs were allowed to use *jazyk český*.

Nowadays, most Czechs appear to be unaware of attempts to create a unified Czechoslovak language. When asked to define the term *československenština*, 549 (49%) of the informants in 'The Czechs and Slovak' replied that it meant nothing to them, and 167 (15%) said that they did not know. Just 131 (12%) interpreted it as the idea of a single Czechoslovak language, while 253 (22%) selected the more modern definition of code-mixing. Nábělková and Sloboda cite ex-President Gustáv Husák, who was of Slovak origin, as an example of a Party apparatchik who regularly used a hybrid 'Czechoslovak' language (not without unfortunate blunders).[115] While the influence of Czechisms

[111] Miloš Weingart, 'Jazyk nejdražší statek', in *Slovanské stati*, Prague, 1932, pp. 46–66 (pp. 48–49).

[112] 'Jazykový zákon č. 122/1920 Sb.', relating to paragraph 129 of the Constitution, appeared in *Sbírka zákonů*, č. 26, 1920, p. 268. (It took effect on 6 March 1920, and was officially repealed on 9 June 1948.)

[113] See Martina Šmejkalová, 'Jazyk československý na českých a slovenských školách mezi učebními osnovami z let 1919 a 1927', *Slovo a slovesnost*, 66, 2005, 1, pp. 32–47, and *Čeština a škola – úryvky skrytých dějin*, Prague, 2010, pp. 32–48.

[114] See 'Slovaks in Czechia – Czechs in Slovakia', p. 24, and Gizella Szabómihály Gramma, 'Language Policy and Language Rights in Slovakia', *Mercator – Working papers*, 23, 2006, 7 <http://www.ciemen.org/mercator/pdf/wp23eng.pdf> [accessed 20 February 2009].

[115] 'Comparing 'Trasjanka' and 'Československenčina'', p. 11.

(*čechismy*) on Slovak has been considerably greater than vice versa, the process has by no means been one way — amongst the better known Slovakisms (*slovakismy*) in Czech are *namyšlený* (conceited), *završit* (to round off) and, since the 1990s, *kávička* (coffee), largely attributable to Slovak waiters in Czech restaurants. The role of television and radio in promoting perceptive bilingualism may have declined, but Slovak is still heard in a variety of contexts in the spoken media, and co-production television shows, including *Česko Slovenská SuperStar* (Czecho Slovak Superstar) and *Česko Slovensko má talent* (Czecho Slovakia's Got Talent), attract large audiences.

The definitions of *československština* offered by dictionaries from the First Republic and the Communist era testify to the word's chequered past, and are not especially illuminating. In *PSJČ*, it is defined as both 'an older name for the joint literary language of the Czechs, Moravians, Silesians and Hungarian Slovaks; Czech in a broader sense', and 'now the joint name of the Czechoslovak language, which has a literary Czech form and a literary Slovak form'.[116] By contrast, in *SSJČ* (1960), it is defined as '(formerly in the bourgeois nationalist conception) the single, in reality non-existent, language of the Czechs and Slovaks in its dual literary, Czech and Slovak, form'.[117] What neither definition alludes to is the strong feeling of linguistic and cultural subordination that the imposition of *československština* aroused in some Slovaks.

It would be remiss not to mention briefly here that certain scholars have argued for greater formal recognition of Moravian Czech (*moravština*) and Silesian Czech (*slezština*). Varying degrees of linguistic separatism were espoused in the early 1800s, at the turn of the twentieth century and in the early 1990s, in particular, although there was little consensus on the nature of the changes to be introduced. Amongst the more moderate scholars seeking the inclusion of elements of Moravian usage in *spisovná čeština* in the 1830s were two Bohemians, František Dobromysl Trnka and Vincenc Pavel Ziac (Žák), but even their comparatively conservative proposals encountered stiff opposition from Palacký, amongst others.[118] More recent calls for the codification of Moravian Czech have tended to come in the context of the debate over regional self-determination, and have received relatively little

[116] *PSJČ*, Prague, 1935–37, vol. 1, A–J, p. 315. The Slovak variant *československenčina* is described as 'less correct'.

[117] *SSJČ*, vol. 1, A–G, p. 252.

[118] For a discussion of Moravian Czech in its historical context, see Ondřej Bláha, 'Moravský jazykový separatismus: zdroje, cíle, slovanský kontext', *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis. Facultas Philosophica. Studia Moravica*, 3, 2005, pp. 293–99.

support from fellow Moravians or the linguistic establishment.[119] In reality, the degree of variation in Moravian (and Silesian) dialects would render it highly problematic to identify a norm acceptable to most speakers.

In terms of the development of the Czech language as a whole, Moravian dialects today are important less for what they contribute directly to the morphology and lexis of *spisovná čeština* than to the influence they exert on the status of the everyday speech of most other Czechs. As Bláha has pointed out, 'Moravianisms — providing they are applied in due moderation — may act as a constraint on the expansion of common colloquial Czech [*obecná čeština*] into the role of a [national spoken] standard'.[120] Following the break-up of Czechoslovakia, Moravian dialects may also have helped to promote cross-cultural discourse by acting as an intermediary between Czech, in its various (non-Moravian) manifestations and Slovak, in both its literary and non-literary forms. The relative proximity of eastern Moravian dialects to Slovak ensures that the gap between Czech (as spoken in Bohemia and western Moravia) and Slovak has not increased to the extent that language has become a major barrier to communication. When asked in 'The Czechs and Slovak' to place eastern Moravian dialects on a dialect continuum, 47.9 per cent of the informants who expressed an opinion, including over half of the Bohemian interviewees, felt the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech to be greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak. Only slightly more informants, 49.1 per cent, including over half of the Moravians, considered the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak to be greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech.[121]

### *National and ethnic identity*

The noun *Čech/Češka* (a Czech), like the adjective *český*, is generally felt to subsume *Moravan/Moravanka* (Moravian) to a much greater extent than *Čechy* does *Morava*, but even here the absence of a stylistically-neutral term to differentiate between 'Czech' and 'Bohemian' can cause problems. The distinction between Bohemians and Moravians is still commonly observed in the phrase *Češi a Moravané* (Czechs and

[119] See, for example, Zbyšek Šustek, 'Otázka kodifikace spisovného moravského jazyka', *Slavica Tartuensia*, 4, Tartu, 1998 [in Britské listy] <http://www.blisty.cz/files/isarc/9809/19980914d.html> [accessed 18 November 2010], and in response, Alexandr Stích, 'Tři jazyky v jedné zemi', seminar for *Obce spisovatelů pro zahraniční bohemisty*, 9 September 1998 [in Britské listy] <http://www.blisty.cz/files/isarc/9809/19980914c.html> [accessed 18 November 2010].

[120] 'Moravský jazykový separatismus: zdroje, cíle, slovanský kontext', p. 297.

[121] See 'Češi a slovenština', p. 16.

Moravians), although the precise meaning of *Češi* in this collocation is derived almost entirely from its juxtaposition with *Moravané*. Where *Moravané* is omitted, or an alternative comparison (for example Bohemians and Austrians) is required, it is necessary to use a paraphrase such as *Češi v Čechách* (the 'Czechs' in Bohemia) or *Češi žijící na Moravě* (Bohemians living in Moravia) to identify the Bohemians as a separate ethnic group.[122] The ambiguity arising from the accusative plural of *Čech*, as in *mám rád Čechy* (both 'I like the Czechs/Bohemians' and 'I like Bohemia'), theoretically compounds the difficulties, but where there may be confusion, native speakers tend to qualify such remarks; compare, for instance, *mám rád Čechy, zvláště jejich humor* (I like the Czechs, especially their humour) and *mám rád Čechy, zvláště jejich malebnou přírodu* (I like Bohemia, especially its picturesque countryside). While in practice context may generally disambiguate meaning, it does not altogether dispel the impression that the terms *Čech* and *Moravan* are of an unequal status.

The use of the accusative plural of the name of an ethnic group to denote a territorial land (for example, *Sasy* [Saxony] and *Švábы* [Swabia], today *Sasko* and *Švábsko*), was the norm in Czech until around the end of the fifteenth century, and persisted as standard usage in some cases into the seventeenth century (for instance, *Španěly* [Spain] and *Švýcary* [Switzerland]).[123] Morfill gives the examples of *Španělý* (Spain [with a long 'ý']), *Němci* (Germany), *Rakousy* (Austria) and *Francouszy* (France), also *ve Francouzích* (in France [without 's']), which he regarded as commonplace.[124] Even nowadays it is not unusual to encounter colloquial forms such as *jak se v Německu říká* (as they say in Germany), *jeli jsme do Italů* (we went to Italy), *delegace ze Švýcar* (a delegation from Switzerland) or, to cite *Lidové noviny* (from *ČNK – SYN2006PUB*), 1993, *už nejezdíme do Rakous, Španěl nebo Bavor* (we no longer go to Austria, Spain or Bavaria).[125] However, *Čechy* is exceptional in that it has survived to this day without an alternative, stylistically neutral singular form.

In the absence of a standard one-word expression for all Czechs, formal Czech sometimes employs the republican-sounding descriptor *občané České republiky* (citizens of the Czech Republic). By contrast, colloquial usage has recently adopted the playful acronyms *Céeráci/Čéeráci/Céerané* and *ČRáci/ČRané* (< *ČR*), presumably by analogy with

[122] In the past, expressions such as *pan Čech z království* (a Czech gentleman from the Kingdom [of Bohemia]) and *Čech z markrabství* (a Czech from the Margraviate [of Moravia]) were used.

[123] See *Synchronní a diachronní aspekty české onymie*, p. 117.

[124] *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Čech Language*, pp. 108, 130, 134, 155 and 149.

[125] *SYN2006PUB* comprises 300 million words.

forms such as *Dedéráci* and *Dederóni* ('Ossis', or citizens of the former 'DDR').[126] Most of the derivatives of *Čech* have pejorative overtones, including *Češátko* and *Čechák*, and its more common diminutive, *Čecháček*, which suggests narrow-mindedness and possibly a tendency to put self-interest first. *SSJČ* defines *Čecháček* as 'an unbalanced, unreliable, or even a bad member of the Czech nation'.[127] The basic semantic distinction between *Čech* and *Čecháček* can be illustrated by a phrase such as *je typický Čecháček, ale není (pravý) Čech* (he's a typical 'petty Czech', but not a 'real Czech'), but the pragmatic implicatures of this pejorative diminutive are less well defined. As Leech has argued, the connotative meaning of words is inevitably peripheral and relatively unstable, as well as indeterminate and open-ended, since it is a reflection of real-world experience.[128] The nuances and impact of the expression *čecháčkovství* ('petty Czechness') in a lecture on national self-images are altogether different from its intended criticism of Bohemians in a speech by a Moravian nationalist (*moravista*). When a Slovak employs terms such as *Čecháčkovia*, *Čechurkovia* and *Čechuri*, the implied disapproval, which is clearly aimed at all Czechs, is accentuated by the two peoples' relationship since 1918. On the other hand, as Šíp has pointed out, when President Havel used *Čecháčkové* (as opposed to *Češi*), his choice of endonym was motivated purely by the desire to draw attention to specific types of Czech whose attitude to the rest of Europe is characterized by parochialism, complacency and xenophobia.[129] The noun *Čecháček* can thus also be a near synonym for the national stereotype of the insular, somewhat small-minded *malý český člověk* (little Czech man), which is so widely recognized that it has spawned its own initialism: *MČČ*. Ladislav Holy has argued that, according to national mythology, 'The Czech nation survived three hundred years of oppression not because of its heroes but because of the little Czechs who were the nation'.[130]

The Czechs have a tradition of using terms derived from or suggestive of *Čech* which denote 'national types' whose behaviour is less than laudable. For example, Božena Němcová (1820–62) employed the noun

[126] See, for example, Martin Markovič, 'Poznámky k překladům slova Česko', no date <http://martin.markovic.sweb.cz/cesko-pozn.htm> [accessed 10 June 2009].
[127] *SSJČ*, vol. 1, A–G, p. 241. For a more detailed discussion of *Čecháček*, see Lucie Hašová (= Lucie Jílková), *Bemerkungen zum "Ethnonym" Čecháček*, in Markus Bayer, Michael Betsch and Joanna Błaszczak (eds), *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik (POLYSLAV)*, 7, Munich, 2004, pp. 80–87.
[128] Geoffrey Leech, *Semantics*, Harmondsworth, 1974, pp. 14–16.
[129] Emil Šíp, 'Čecháčkové', *Národní osvobození*, 5 August 1999 [in Britské listy] <http://www.blisty.cz/art/10864.html> [accessed 4 June 2009].
[130] *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, p. 62.

*Nedočech* (also found in its adjectival form *nedočeský* in the writings of Palacký and others), to depict a 'bad' (German inclined) Czech, although it largely fell out of use in the nineteenth century. The suffix 'nedo-' suggests incompleteness and/or unworthiness, and is recorded in other obsolete expressions, such as *nedobabka* (a woman who is not yet old) and *nedobásník* (a poor poet). Another old-fashioned designation which highlights a lack of patriotic steadfastness is *Čehona* (from the first three syllables of the third verse of the Austro-Hungarian hymn ***Čeho na****byl občan pilný* ... [What the diligent citizen acquired ...]). *Čehona*, coined by Viktor Dyk (1877–1931), denoted an over-obliging citizen, whose behaviour was that of a creep snuggling up to Vienna; whence *čehonovský/čehonský charakter* (Čehona character). While it may now be regarded as an entertaining historical anachronism, it may also have influenced the adoption by Moravians of the mildly derogatory Slovak words *Čehún/Čehúň/Čehun*, frequently spelt both in Slovak and Czech as *Čechún/Čechúň/Čechun*. The terms *Čehún/Čehúň* and so forth were sometimes used by Slovaks in the First Republic to suggest the notion of a *čechisátor/čechista* (a 'Czechist', or Czech committed to policies seeking to subsume Slovak identity), but nowadays they are applied more generally in Slovak to any Czech. Shortly after the break-up of Czechoslovakia, *čechista* acquired the meaning amongst Moravian separatists of a Bohemian opposed to Moravian independence. Similarly, since 1993, *čechizovat* and *počešťovat/počeštit* (to Czechize), and *čechizace* and *počešťování/počeštění* (Czechization), have been used by some Moravians to denote the 'Bohemianization' (*bohemizace/bohemizování*) of Moravia, and *počeštěnec* (a person who has adopted Czech ways) has been applied to a 'Bohemian turncoat' (that is, an 'unpatriotic' Moravian whose allegiance has switched to Bohemia) (cf. *Bohemisiren* [to bohemianize; under the lemma *bohemizugi, -owati*] in Jungmann's dictionary).[131]

There are a number of colloquialisms for all the indigenous ethnic groups of the Czech Republic, but the most common are words for Bohemians. One of the less derogatory is the Moravian dialect term *Švéd* (a 'Swede') (cf. *Švédsko*, above), which primarily denotes an inhabitant of Prague, but has undergone semantic extension to embrace all Bohemians. Košková includes *Švéd* in the category of 'de-ethnonymized forms of ethnic nicknames', and notes that it is also used as a more general term for a Czech in Slovak.[132] Another noun employed in

[131] *Slovník českoněmecký*, vol. 1, p. 155.

[132] Mária Košková, 'Etnické koncepty v jazyku (na bulharskom a slovenskom materiáli)', *Slavica Slovaca*, 41, 2006, 1, pp. 17–31 (p. 24). See also Braňo Hochel, *Slovník slovenského slangu*, Bratislava, 1993, p. 87.

modern Moravian jargon is *Českoň* (< *Česko*), although its nuances seem to be variable. A more common pejorative definiens is *cajzl*/*cajzlák*, from German *Zeisig* (siskin), suggestive through rhyme of *hajzl* (rotten sod), which conveys a conceited, overbearing person, especially from Prague, and gives rise to phrases such as *cajzláci z Práglu* ('Bumhemians' from 'Prag') and *cajzlovské bazmek* ('Bumhemian' junk). According to Hugo, the diminutive of *cajzl* is *čížek*, which is itself also a mildly abusive term for a Bohemian. *Čížek* may be used in conjunction with *cajzl*, as in *byl to takovej typickej cajzl, čížek jakési* (he was a typical *cajzl*, a real *čížek*). It is sometimes, perhaps jokingly, taken as a diminutive of *Čech*, but any etymological connection seems improbable.[133] Mates concedes that in some cases the surname *Čížek* may be attributable to the Moravian nickname for Bohemians, although he also identifies other explanations, such as the possibility that it relates to a person with a cheerful demeanour or to someone who is fickle and flighty. His most plausible suggestion is that the name reflects the birdsong of a siskin, not least because this conforms to the national stereotype of the Czech as a lover of singing and music (as in the phrases *co Čech, to muzikant* [every Czech is a musician] and *v hudbě je život Čechů* [the Czechs live for music]).[134]

Three dated exonyms for a Bohemian/Czech, cited by Ouředník, are *chaloupka* (a small cottage), *chrapoun* (country yokel, boorish person), and *tvarohová držka* (cottage cheese gob), of which the latter two were especially offensive.[135] As in many other cases, it is difficult to establish when and why these particular lexical items were first subject to semantic broadening, but the choice of all three is unsurprising in culturo-linguistic terms. The phrase *tvarohová držka* conforms to a common pattern, in which the name of a national dish is taken as a defining feature of a person's ethnicity. The noun *chrapoun*, which Podzimek included in the category of *světské výrazy* (secular expressions) in his 1937 study, belongs to another significant group of words which highlight the lack of sophistication of the peasantry.[136] Urban Czechs have an ambiguous and ambivalent attitude to village life. On the one hand, they are inclined to sneer at their country cousins, as reflected in numerous terms denoting yokels, such as *balík*, *buran*, *křupan* and *vidlák* (literally 'someone who works with a pitchfork'), while on the other,

[133] See Jan Hugo et al., *Slovník nespisovné češtiny*, Prague, 2006, pp. 77 and 89 (hereafter, *SNČ*). Mates, *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 45–46, lists both Čech and Čížek amongst the most popular 250 Czech surnames.

[134] *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 39 and 46.

[135] Patrik Ouředník, *Šmírbuch jazyka českého. Slovník nekonvenční češtiny*, Prague and Litomyšl, 2005, p. 44.

[136] See Jonathon Green, *Words Apart: The Language of Prejudice*, London, 1996, pp. 277–81, and Jaroslav Podzimek, *Slovníček "Světská hantýrka"*, Prague, 1937, cited in *SNČ*, p. 163.

they crave the simple pleasures which the countryside offers. The use of *chaloupka* may at least have partly reflected what Eisner characterized as their rustic affinities and yearning to return to the roots of their forebears.[137]

The most widely-used word for a 'Bohemian' throughout the Czech Republic is the jocular term *pepík* — a familial hypocoristic from the popular name *Josef*; possibly derived from Saint Joseph, Jesus's putative father (in Spanish *padre putativo* or *PP*; whence Spanish *Pepe* and Czech *Pepe/Pepě*). *Pepík* has had numerous cognates, such as *pepíček*, *pepan*, *pepánek*, *pepas*, *pepásek*, *pepé* and *pepec*, as well as *pepický* (pertaining to a *pepík*), *pepickost/pepictví* (the characteristics of a *pepík*) and *pepičtina* (the style of speech of a *pepík*), whose precise use and interpretation has varied significantly.[138] In early twentieth-century Czech suburban folkore, *pepíci* denoted day labourers in the Žižkov district of Prague, but the term was subsequently applied more generally to beer-swilling, Švejk-like characters, who engaged in inconsequential banter in Prague hostelries. Nowadays, *pepík* may be understood to mean either a Prague non-sophisticate (often referred to as *pražskej pepík*) — perhaps roughly the equivalent in a British context to a Cockney — or, especially in Moravia, any Bohemian who relies more on native wit than formal education.[139] In Slovak, the semantic extension is taken further to apply humorously, but more satirically, to all Czechs. Poles similarly use *pepik/pepiczek* as a light-hearted, but slightly condescending descriptor of a 'typical' Czech, while the Viennese are said to have favoured the form *pepi* in the past.

The normal colloquial term for a 'Moravian' throughout the Czech Republic is *Moravák/Moravačka*, which is sometimes contrasted with *Čecháček/Čecháčkyně* (see above). The forms *Moravec/Moravka* and the diminutive *Moraváček* are also found in dialect, although they may have the more specific meaning of an inhabitant of Hlučínsko and the surrounding Czech-Polish borderlands, who speaks the Lachian dialect of Czech.[140] Hannan notes that by the nineteenth century *Moravec* 'was attested as an ethnicon only in far northeastern Moravia and in neighbouring parts of Silesia'.[141] *Moravec* has tended to have pejorative

[137] *Chrám i tvrz*, p. 339.

[138] The name *Pepa Novák* denotes the hypothetical average Czech man — the Czech equivalent of Joe Bloggs.

[139] The nearest Moravian equivalent is probably *brněnské štatlař* (a Brno 'loafer'), but it is not applied to the wider Moravian population.

[140] *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 172–73, lists *Moravec* as the fifty-third most common Czech surname, and notes that, as an ethnonym, it can also be used as a diminutive for *Moravan*.

[141] See Kevin Hannan, *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia*, New York, 1996, p. 77.

overtones if used more generally. As Dudek, writing in 1927, colourfully observed, 'To apply to a Czech, even to a native of Moravia, the somewhat contemptuous term *Moravec* [...] produces an effect similar to alluding to the canine ancestry of a Texas cow-puncher'.[142] Also recorded by Ouředník as more general terms for a Moravian are *brostrov*, derived from *brněnský ostrov* (the [former German-speaking] 'island' of Brno), *bryncl* (an inhabitant of Brno — probably from *Brünnzel*, a diminutive of *Brünn* [Brno]), and *valášek* (a Wallachian — a diminutive of *Valach*).[143] Rather more racist in tone is the extant exonym *Asiat* (Asiatic), which is redolent of the Asiatic hordes.[144] As Eisner pointed out in 1946, '*Asijec*, *asijský* (Asian) are neutral designations to us, whereas *Asiat*, *asiatský* are designations which are viewed negatively by us'.[145] In the past, some Bohemians jokingly referred to their Moravian neighbours as *pauzáci* ('Pausers'), based on the notion that the Moravian section of the Czechoslovak National Anthem was the pause between the Czech and Slovak verses.[146] The term *Moravoslezané/MoravoSlezané* is sometimes used of people from the Moravian-Silesian region, as are colloquialisms such as *Moravoslováci* (Moravian Slovaks or Moravians from Slovácko) and *Pšonkomoraváci* (Polish Moravians).

There are also several more expressions for different types of Czech Silesian. *Šlonzáci* and *Šlonzoci* (cf. Polish *Ślązaci/Ślązoci*) denote the inhabitants of the western part of Těšínsko, whose speech, *šlonzáčtina*, combines elements of Czech and Polish. Such was the reluctance of the Czechoslovak authorities in the First Republic to risk drawing attention to a specifically Silesian identity that the 1921 census included the appellations *Šlonzák-Čechoslovák*, *Šlonzák-Polák* (-Pole) and *Šlonzák-Němec* (-German), in preference to *Slezan*, for the citizens of Těšínsko.[147] The colloquialisms *Prajz/Prajzák/Prajzak/Prajzula* — derivatives of the German *Preussen* (Prussia) — are used of a Silesian living in Opavsko and Hlučínsko, whose language contains a mixture of Czech, Polish and German. In the 1920s, the Polish media referred to the Czechs as *Prusaki Wschodu* (the Prussians of the east), which drew on a southern

[142] J. B. Dudek, 'The Bohemian Language in America', *American Speech*, 2, 1927, 7, pp. 299–311 (p. 307).
[143] *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, p. 148. See also *SNČ*, p. 72.
[144] Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, pp. 93–94, notes that Šafařík likened the Magyars to the devilish Asiatic hordes.
[145] *Chrám i tvrz*, p. 124.
[146] In a similar vein to *pauzáci* was *Kakánie* (Cackland), based on the abbreviation *kk* for *kaiserlich und königlich* (imperial and royal), which Germans used for the Habsburg monarchy, as well as *Švejkoslovensko* (Švejkoslovakia) to denote Czechoslovakia after the post-1968 'normalization'.
[147] For a discussion of the *Šlonzáci*, see *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia*. See also Franz Chocholatý Gröger, 'Šlonzáci a Volkliste', *Go East*, November 2008, pp. 1–9 <http://www.go-east-mission.de/dateien/cz/126_031108.pdf> [accessed 2 July 2009].

German tradition of Prussian negative stereotypes, encapsulated in the slang term *Saupreusse* (Prussian swine).[148] The Czech derivative of *Prus* (a Prussian) — *Prušák* — has also been widely used as a term of abuse for Germans in general, and was previously associated with German expansionism, as highlighted in the definition of *prušáctví* (Prussianness) in *SSJČ*: 'the sum of the characteristics ascribed to the former Prussians, especially German imperialism and militarism.'[149] The expression *Vasrpoláci* (from German *Wasserpolen*) ('Water Poles'), written variously as *Was(s)erpoláci/Wasserpolaci/Wasserpolané*, which has more pejorative overtones, refers to the *Hornoslezané* (Upper Silesians), who live in and around Český Těšín and Třinec, and similarly speak a Silesian/Moravian-Polish dialect (*vasrpolština/wasserpolština*), with strong German influence.[150] More neutral in tone is the noun *Gorali*, from Polish, which is also used of mountain dwellers from the Silesian and Polish Beskydy (as well as the Polish side of the Tatra mountains), to denote a distinction between the highlanders and people from the Polish plains or fields (*pole*).

*'Unproblematic' foreigners*

Despite the asymmetrical nature of Czech-Slovak relations, there has been little overt conflict between the two peoples. The Czechs and Slovaks recognize their shared heritage, as well as an enduring debt of gratitude to one another for their liberation from German and Hungarian hegemony, respectively. They have traditionally felt strong kinship ties, as reflected in the Czech phrases *bratři Slováci* (Slovak brothers) / *bratrské Slovensko* (brotherly Slovakia), and the Slovak expression *bratia Česi* (Czech brothers). Ruzicka and Stullerova argue that the lack of animosities between the Czech lands and Slovakia in terms of their foundational myths is reflected to this day in the absence of mutually derogatory terms for each other.[151] This is partly correct. Most of the colloquial metonyms that the Slovaks use to describe the Czechs are at worst gently ironic; for example, *Franta* (a diminutive of František) and (*český*) *Honza* ([Czech] Honza; from the common name Jan; cf. German *Hans*), popularized by the hero of Czech fairy-tales, *Hloupý Honza* (Stupid Honza; 'Silly Billy') or *Český Honza* (Czech

[148] See Michał Łuczyński, 'Czech oczami Polaka – próba rekonstrukcji stereotypu', *Respectus Philologicus*, 15, 2009, 20, pp. 134–42 (p. 137), and *Chrám i tvrz*, p. 351.
[149] *SSJČ*, vol. 4, P–Q, p. 510.
[150] See *SNČ*, pp. 410 and 434.
[151] See Jan Ruzicka and Kamila Stullerova, 'From the Second Best Option to Dissolution: Instrumentality and Identity in Czechoslovak Federalism', in Emilian Kavalski and Magdalena Żółkoś (eds), *Defunct Federalisms: Critical Perspectives on Federal Failure*, Farnham, 2008, pp. 129–43 (p. 137).

Honza).[152] Another term which Smatana, a Czech journalist of Slovak origin, says that *roduvěrní Slováci* (Slovak patriots) have applied to him affectionately, is *paštikář* (pâté maker). He speculates that *paštikáři*, whose name derives from the Czechs' money-saving habit of taking tins of pâté (*paštika*) with them when they travel, may have become established in Slovakia well before the Czechs took to visiting Croatia in large numbers after 1989.[153]

Czech descriptors of the Slovaks and their country similarly tend not to be overtly hostile or disdainful. Amongst the more common derivatives of *Slovák* are the expressive form *Slováček* and the old-fashioned noun *Slovačka* (Slovak woman; also used of a Moravia-Slovak woman), as well as the bookish and poetic-sounding synonyms for Slovakia, *Slovač* and *Slovačina*. Some of the other terms for a Slovak based on 'cultural' allusions are subject to personal interpretation. The choice of the name of the Slovak national dish *haluška* (similar to gnocchi) might equate stylistically to, say, the French use of *les rosbifs* for the British. The ethnonym *Jánošík* (from the Slovak Robin Hood-like folk hero, Juro Jánošík, 1688–1713) may be either affectionate or sarcastic, depending on context, and the user's intended meaning. Smatana employs *Jánošíci* in the title of, and throughout, his sympathetic study of his Slovak forebears, whom he also calls *podtatranský lid* (the people from beneath the Tatra mountains). He likewise points out that *Jánošík* remains popular in film and fiction, and that there are twenty-five streets named after him in Slovakia.[154] The contemporary neologisms *čobol/čobolák* (Slovak) and *Čobolsko* (Slovakia), from the Czech writer Miroslav Švandrlík's novel and screenplay *Černí baroni* (1992), which contains the line ***Čo bolo***, *to bolo, terazky som majorom!* ('What has been has been; now I'm a major!') are unambiguously flippant, but not especially offensive. *Čobol/čobolák* is probably the nearest stylistic equivalent of *pepík*, although it obviously does not have the same cultural connotations. There do not appear to be any Czech colloquialisms applied uniformly to Bratislavans, although Smatana has noted that, in tourist resorts such as Donovaly (central Slovakia), people from the Slovak capital are commonly referred to as *paštikáři* (see above).[155] It might be added that *Blava*, which sounds like a compound of *bláto*

[152] For a discussion of the character of *Hloupý Honza*, see Josef Jedlička, 'O hrdinství anebo Hloupý Honza', in *České typy a jiné eseje*, Brno, 2009, pp. 9–14 (p. 11).
[153] Ľubomír Smatana, *Jánošíci s těžkou hlavou. Mýty a realita Slovenska očima českého reportéra*, Prague, 2010, pp. 77–78.
[154] Ibid, pp. 16, 26–29, 272 and 290.
[155] Ibid, p. 78.

(mud) and *kráva* (cow), is widely used in both Czech and Slovak as a humorous term for the Slovak capital city.[156]

The Czechs' affection for the Slovaks is confirmed by opinion polls, in which Slovakia is consistently identified as their favourite 'foreign' country, and the Slovaks themselves are specified as their preferred 'foreign' nation.[157] In 'Attitudes', 36 per cent of the informants cited Slovak as the language to which they relate most positively, and a further 11 per cent identified it as their second choice.[158] Nevertheless, although the Czechs may be well disposed to the Slovaks and their language, it is not altogether correct to say that Czech is devoid of negative phrases for their erstwhile partners. The expressive term *Slovačisko* is defined in *SJČ* (1937) as 'a lumpish [*neohrabaný*], real Slovak',[159] and the dialectal form *Slovena* for *Slovenka* (a Slovak woman) also has a slightly contemptuous tone. Similarly disrespectful are the obscure lexical innovation *človák* — a blend of *Slovák* (Slovak) and *člověk* (person) — which is suggestive of 'half-man, half-Slovak', and the much better established term *Hejslovák*, from the title of the unofficial anthem (see above), which denotes an extreme nationalist. A potentially sensitive chord may likewise be struck by the descriptor *kečkemét* (Kecskemét — the name of a city in central Hungary), which evokes a long tradition of Hungarian suppression. Lack of opportunity under Hungarian rule ensured that much of the Slovak population lived and worked in the countryside, as exemplified by the unpleasant marginal ethnophaulism *kozomrd* (goat shagger). In Wallachia and other Czech-Slovak borderland areas, the Slovaks (as well as Moravians and Silesians) who colonized the forests and mountains were sometimes referred as *kopaničáři* (diggers) and *pasekáři* (gladers). Of the Slovaks who did not work on the land, a significant number were employed in low prestige trades and manual jobs, as demonstrated by the exonyms *dráteník/ dráteníček* ([travelling] tinker), the old-fashioned term *pastičkář* (seller of mousetraps), and the equally-dated forms *šalen/ šaliňák*

[156] According to Ivan Lutterer, Milan Majtán and Rudolf Šrámek, *Zeměpisná jména Československa*, Prague, 1982, pp. 60–61, the term Bratislava was first used in 1844, but it was officially adopted only in 1920. The city has borne numerous names in its history, of which the oldest are *Wratisslaburgium* (805), *Braslevespurch*, *Brezalauspurc* (907), *Preslawaspurch* (1052), *Bresburg*, *Presburch* (1108), whence *Prešpurok*, *Prešporek* and *Prešporok*, and *Prešpurk* (in Czech). *Zeměpisná jména Československa* also explains the origins of its Hungarian name *Pozsony*, but does not allude to the fact that in 1918 it was briefly called *Wilsonovo (město)*.

[157] See, for example, Jan Červenka, 'Vztah Čechů k vybraným národnostem – prosinec 2009', *Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění*, 18 January 2010, pp. 1–3 (p. 2) (hereafter, *CVVM*) <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/100995s_ov100118.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

[158] *Attitudes to Lexical Borrowing in the Czech Republic*, p. 29.

[159] *SJČ*, vol. 2, L–Ž, p. 1384.

(Moravian dialect terms for 'tramwayman'), which referred specifically to a Slovak from the east of the country.[160] The implied connection with the much-derided Roma, originally largely from Slovakia, is unambiguous, especially in the case of *dráteník*.

The Czechs' attitude to the Poles, and vice versa, has inevitably been influenced by the various twentieth-century territorial disputes over Těšínsko, and by Polish involvement in the Warsaw Pact military intervention of 1968. However, surveys conducted in both countries show that, in general, relations are now reasonable, with the Poles remaining ahead of the Americans, Hungarians and Germans in the Czechs' affections, and the Czechs viewed as acceptable by Poles, especially outside areas of historical conflict.[161] Linguistically, the two peoples are quite close, but there is a widespread realization in both countries of the differences in their traits and values. Hannan argues that the Czechs have traditionally seen the Poles as inefficient and lacking in perseverance, whereas the Poles have characterized the Czechs as a submissive and irreligious people, whose national character is personified by Švejk.[162] Sodomková has pointed out that to this day Poland boasts numerous statues of Švejk, as well as cycle tracks and pubs named after him.[163] Kroh has similarly highlighted the importance of the Švejk image in a collection of essays on Polish-Czech relations and national characteristics.[164] Amongst the traditional stereotypes identified by Łuczyński are some which are overtly negative, such as the Czechs' tendency to show complacency, lack tenacity and make over-zealous civil servants, and several which are more positive, including their musicality, pragmatism, hard work and sense of humour.[165] The ethnic and linguistic similarities between the Poles and Czechs are illustrated in the phrases (*nasi*) *bracia Czesi* ([our]) Czech brothers) (cf. Slovak *bratia Česi*, above) and *czeski błąd* (a Czech error), which has been used to denote a minor spelling mistake, of the type that resembles Czech. Yet, despite the closeness of their languages, the Czechs and Poles do not always fully understand each other, as suggested by the common Polish metaphor *czeski film* (Czech film), which can refer to virtually anything that is impenetrable.

[160] As is well known, *šalina* continues to be commonly used in Brno for a 'tram'.
[161] See 'Czech oczami Polaka – próba rekonstrukcji stereotypu', pp. 138–39, 'Vztah Čechů k vybraným národnostem – prosinec 2009', p. 2, and Paulína Tabery, 'Vztah Čechů k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR', *CVVM*, 4 June 2010, pp. 2–3 (p. 2) <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101041s_ov100604b.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].
[162] *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia*, p. 184.
[163] Magdalena Sodomková, 'Poláci vítají "arcidílo" – Švejka', *Mladá fronta Dnes*, 19 August 2009, p. A7.
[164] Antoni Kroh, *O Szwejku i o nas*, Warsaw, 2002.
[165] See 'Czech oczami Polaka – próba rekonstrukcji stereotypu', pp. 135–39.

Amongst the colloquial expressions which Poles have used of the Czechs are *bohmak* ('Bohemian'), the ironic near homophone *bohater* (hero) (cf. Czech *bohatýr* < Russian *bogatyr'*), *Honzik* (a cognate of *Honza*, as in Slovak) and the culinary accompaniment to Czech meat dishes, *knedle/knedliczki* (knedliks/dumplings). Of these, *knedle/knedliczki* — another example of what Green has called 'gastro-nationalism'[166] — is perhaps best known in contemporary Polish. Somewhat more pejorative terms, used in the past, have included *Wendiczek/Wendiczki*, *Wencliczek/Wencliczki* (*Václav* [patron saint of the Czechs]) and *Precliczek/Precliczki*, derived from the name of the fictional character Wenzl Pretschlitschek.[167] The Czechs, especially the north Moravians and Silesians, have similarly had a variety of colloquialisms for the Poles, such as *antek* (the Polish equivalent of *pepík*, but with closer connections to the criminal underworld), and *pšon(e)k* (possibly a derivative of *pes* [a dog], but reminiscent of the way Poles speak), which gave rise to *Pšonsko* (Poland) and *pšonština* (the Polish language). Other old-fashioned terms include *Perun* (the God of thunder and lightning in Slavonic mythology) and *Polok* (a cognate of Polák).

The lexicons of Czech and German continue to bear witness to negative stereotypes of the speakers of the other language, but relations between Czechs and Germans/Austrians have improved to the point that there is no longer much overt enmity or suspicion.[168] Amongst the better established German terms relating to the Czechs is *Wenzel* (cf. Polish *Wencliczek*, above), which is still applied to the Bohemian territories in the Crownlands: *Länder der Wenzels-Krone* (*Koruny svatováclavské*). In Austria-Hungary, *der Böhmische Wenzel* (*český Václav* or 'the Czech Wenceslas') became a synonym for Czechs' insistence on putting their own narrow ethnic interests above those of the empire. *Wenzel* is also found in the unrelated title *Böhmische-Wenzel-Weg* (The Bohemian Wenzel Path), around the town of Schirgiswalde, which is said to be named after the captain of a band of (Czech) thieves. A connection between the Czechs and larceny is similarly identified in the old-fashioned phrases *böhmisch einkaufen* (to buy Bohemian), meaning 'to shoplift', and *der böhmische Zirkel* (the Bohemian circle), which in

[166] *Words Apart*, p. 145.

[167] From Jan Lam's novel *Panna Emilia czyli Wielki Świat Capowic*, set in Galicia in 1866, first published in Warsaw, 1869.

[168] Czechs make little distinction between Germans and Austrians. According to a poll by the agency Miliard Brown, 64.7 per cent of Czechs feel unthreatened by Germans. See Dan Hrubý, 'Průzkum pro LN: Česká mládež se Německa nebojí, lidé nad 60 mu nevěří', *Lidové noviny*, 8 October 2010 <http://www.lidovky.cz/pruzkum-pro-ln-ceska-mladez-se-nemecka-neboji-lide-nad-60-mu-neveri-px7-/ln_domov.asp?c=A101007_174118_ln_domov_tsh> [accessed 21 December 2010].

Viennese slang denoted a gesture where the thumb is pointed downwards, with the fingers around it, to indicate 'stealing'.[169] The money theme is likewise reflected in the once frequent use of *Böhm* for *Groš* (groschen) in German (cf. *czech* in Polish, and its equivalents in other Slavonic languages). Amongst the other well known expressions relating to Czechs are *das ist mir ein böhmisches Dorf / das sind böhmische Dörfer für mich* (it was a Bohemian village to me / they are Bohemian villages for me), equivalent to 'that's all Greek to me', which alludes to the difficulty experienced by Germans in pronouncing Czech place names.[170] The differences between Czech and German are further revealed in the phrase *das kommt mir böhmisch vor* (that seems a bit Bohemian to me), equivalent to 'that sounds a bit Irish to me', and in the old-fashioned verb *böhmakeln* (to speak in a Bohemian way) — 'to speak with an awful accent'. Even more negative in terms of its connotations was the nickname for Adolf Hitler, *der böhmische Gefreite* (the Bohemian Lance-Corporal), which has been attributed to an error by Hindenburg, who allegedly mistook *Braunau am Inn* for *Braunau* (Czech *Broumov*) in north-east Bohemia.

The forms *Böhmen* and *böhmisch* were often preferred in German to *Czechen*, *czechisch* and so forth, even by Revivalist scholars, as a way of emphasizing the Czechs' historic links with the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. The term *Tschech* and its cognates have contributed little to the idiomatic development of German, although *Tschechisation* (Czechization) has been applied by Czech scholars in German to the expulsion of German speakers from the former Sudetenland in 1945 and 1946. Viennese German contains several colloquialisms relating to drinking, such as *tschechern* (to booze), *Tschecherant* (habitual heavy drinker) and *Tschecherl* (*Tschocherl*/*Tschoch*) (a small, local café), which are phonologically so similar to *Tschech* that they are sometimes incorrectly taken to have a common etymology. The presence of a large number of Czech workers in Vienna around the end of the nineteenth century, including the so-called brick-Bohemians or *Ziegelböhmen* (in Viennese dialect *Ziaglbehm*), can only have reinforced the misapprehension that *Tschechern* was derived from *Tschech*.[171]

[169] Jan Hugo, 'Latina …', *Lidovky.cz*, 13 March 2009 <http://www.lidovky.cz/latina-c4w-/ln_noviny.asp?c=A090313_000129_ln_noviny_sko&klic=230532&mes=090313_0> [accessed 11 June 2009].

[170] See Christoph Gutknecht, *Lauter böhmische Dörfer. Wie die Wörter zu ihrer Bedeutung kamen*, Munich, 1996, p. 66.

[171] *Tschechern* is almost certainly derived from German *Zechen* (to booze). O. I. Bykova, 'Etnokul'turnyi repertuar nemetskikh pragmatononimov', *Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Seriia "Lingvistika i mezhkul'turnaia kommunikatsiia"* 2005, 2, p. 13, suggests that *Tschecherl* was originally criminal slang, from Hebrew *schächar* (to inebriate), and that *Tschoch* is a back formation. The terms *čechr*/*šojchr* (beer) and *čoch* (pub) are also well established in Czech slang.

As is well known, the Czech words for an Austrian, *Rakušan/Rakušanka*, and Austria, *Rakousko*, are derived from the Czech name of the Austrian castle Rakuš (< Ratgoz), now called Raabs in German.[172] Of greater interest in the context of this article is the colloquial cognate, *Rakušák/Rakušačka* (an Austrian), which gave rise to the once commonly-used pejoratives *rakušácký* (pro-Habsburg) and *rakušáctví* (Austrophilism), as well as to the verbal phrase *smýšlet rakušácky* (to have pro-Habsburg views). Geographically specific terms applied to all Austrians, such as *štajerák* (an inhabitant of Styria) and *tyrolák* (a Tyrolean) tend to be inoffensive, although *mošťák* (which probably originally related to a citizen of Mostviertel) has for reasons unclear to me acquired derogatory overtones. Other colloquial terms for an Austrian vary from the obviously playful, such as *Australan* (literally 'an Australian'), to the slightly more disrespectful, including *Austrijják* and *Osterajch* (German *Österreich*). More difficult to explain is the use of *kaštan* (literally 'chestnut'), although it may relate to the chestnut flower (in the shape of a shaving brush) which adorns the traditional Austrian hat.

Slang words and colloquialisms applied to the Germans and their country often fit into one of four broad categories: (1) generic descriptors derived from the national names *Němec*, *German* [ge:rman] and *Deutsch*, (2) terms based on the names of the inhabitants of a specific part of Germany, (3) German first names used as ethnonyms, and (4) names relating to German imperial ambition. Cognates of *Němec* include lexical items used in the National Revival, such as *Němčisko* (a German) and *Nedoněmec* (a 'bad' German) (cf. *Nedočech*, above), as well as *Němčour* (an obstinate German) and its derivatives *Němčourek*, *němčourský* (adjective) and *němčourství* (Germanness), together with the distasteful slang compound *Němčurák* (*čurák* = a stupid prick). In a similarly pejorative vein are *Germán*, and its related exonym *Germánie* (Germany). By comparison, the colloquialisms *Dojč*, *Dojčák* and *Dojčlaňák* (Deutsch[lander]) may be more benign, and there is a distinctly light-hearted quality to the once common terms for East Germans — *Dedéráci/Dederóni* (see above) and *Endéráci* (citizens of the former GDR, previously called ***N**ěmecká **d**emokratická **r**epublika*). Amongst the more general words for a German based on the names of geographical entities are *Prajzák* (in the broader sense of 'Prussian') and *Průšák* (see above), *Sasík/Saksík* (literally 'a Saxon'), *Šváb* (literally 'a Swabian', but also a 'cockroach', when spelt with a small 'š') and *skopčák/skopoun* (perhaps a person from the hills — [*člověk*] *s kopců*, but

[172] See, for example, Lucie Jílková, 'Exonyma', in Jan Králík et al., *Každý den s češtinou. Zajímavosti a zvláštnost*, Prague, 2009, pp. 192–93 (p. 192).

suggestive of *skopec* — a castrated ram). Fleming, cited by Jaworska, provides similar examples from Polish anti-German graffiti: '"Szwaby do domu" (Krauts go home)' and '"Nie głosuj na Szkopa" (Don't vote for the Hun).'[173] Common German first names, applied through semantic extension to the wider population, have included *Fric/Fricek* (Fritz) and *Helmut* (for a man), and *Brunhilda* and *Gertruda* (for a woman). The legacy of Germany's imperial past is recorded in a handful of terms relating to German citizens, such as *boš* (Boche) (from French slang, later used in the First World War), *nácek* (Nazi), *hakoš* ([wearer of the] swastika or *Hakenkreuz*) and *hitlerjugend* (young, unruly German tourists), as well as *rajch* (Reich) to denote the German state. Other miscellaneous colloquialisms for a German have included *butrzeft* (from German *Buttersaft* — 'butter juice' — another culinary expression), *jódler* (yodeller), *švihlík* (dude) and *kružítkář* (formerly an 'Ossi', based on the symbol of the dividers [*kružítko*] in the East German state flag). There is a widespread recognition amongst Czechs of their shared cultural heritage with German speakers, as exemplified by the phrase *co Čech, to Němec* (if you are a Czech, you are a German), but also a realization that historically their identity has been defined in terms of their opposition to the German-speaking world. Such was Czech hostility to things German during and shortly after the war that many Czechs used lower-case spellings for terms relating to Germany, such as *němec* (german), *německo* (germany) and *hitler*.

Although the Czech Republic does not border Hungary, there were close historical and geographical connections between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Hungarian speakers continue to comprise about a tenth of the Slovak population. The associations between the Czechs and Hungarians are even reflected in American English, in the derogatory compound for an immigrant from central Europe, *bohunk* (derived from *Bohemian* and *Hunk* [Hungarian]), whence the expression *honky*.[174] Czech-Hungarian relations have not always been harmonious and, as Englund has observed, have involved a strong degree of rivalry.[175] Kvaček, amongst others, has suggested that Hungary 'long regarded Czechoslovakia as its principal adversary', and that the top

[173] Sylvia Jaworska, 'The German Language in Poland: the Eternal Foe and the Wars on Words', in Jenny Carl and Patrick Stevenson (eds), *Language Discourse and Identity in Europe: The German Language in a Multilingual Space*, Basingstoke, 2009, pp. 51–72 (p. 66). See also Michael Fleming, 'The Limits of the German Minority Project in Post-Communist Poland: Scale, Space and Democratic Deliberation', *Nationalities Papers*, 31, 2003, 4, pp. 391–411 (p. 395).

[174] See Philip H. Herbst, *The Color of Words: An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Ethnic Bias in the United States*, Yarmouth, ME, 1997, p. 35. For further discussion of the term *bohunk*, see Short, 'The Broader Czech (and Slovak) Contribution to the English Lexicon', p. 33 (n. 39).

[175] Terje B. Englund, *The Czechs in a Nutshell*, Prague, 2004, pp. 148–52.

foreign policy goal of Admiral Miklós Horthy, Hungary's regent and head of state, was the nullification of the Treaty of Trianon (1920), which defined the country's post-1918 borders.[176] The legacy of hostility, however, declined rapidly after the advent of Communism and, in the 1970s and 1980s, many Czechs began to respect the Hungarians for their more liberal interpretation of the Kremlin's diktats. Geographic boundaries and linguistic and cultural differences, coupled with enduring Slovak-Hungarian tensions, have acted as a restraint on further rapprochement, but it would be fair to say that there is currently little animosity between the two peoples.

Amongst the less flattering epithets for Hungary and its citizens in Czech are several derivatives of *Maďar*, including *Maďarie* (Hungary), *Maďarón/maďarónský* (Hungarian, Magyarone) and *maďarónství* (Hungarianness). *Maďarón* sometimes previously denoted a Hungarian-inclined Slovak, while *Maďar* still suggests a gulf in understanding between Czechs and Hungarians, as in the phrase *copak jsi Maďar, že mi nerozumíš?* (is it because you're a 'dumb Hungarian' that you don't understand me?).[177] The historical designation *Uher* (Hungarian) has not proven as productive in terms of its derivatives, although the colloquialism *uherák*, whose principal meaning is now 'Hungarian salami', has been used (with a capital 'U') of a Hungarian. Two other exonyms also relate to food — *feferón* (hot pepper) and *paprikáč* (poultry seasoned with paprika), and two have military connections — *Avar* (from the name of the nomadic people who sometimes fought alongside Hungarians, Slovaks and others in Hitler's Muslim units) and *honvéd* (the equivalent of a private in the Hungarian army, *Magyar Honvédség*). Rather more difficult to explain is the adoption of the modern slang expression *sekeš* (possibly from the name of the historic city of *Székesfehérvár* — 'the [royal] seat of the white castle'; Slovak *Stoličný Belehrad*). Two further Hungarian terms familiar to Czechs are *Felvidék* (Upper Hungary; modern-day Slovakia)[178] and *Tót/Tóth* — a common Slovak surname (also written *Toth*) — which originally denoted Slavs and other foreigners (cf. Teut/Teuton, deutsch), but is nowadays associated specifically with the Slovaks; whence the colloquial synonym *Tótország* for *Szlovenszkó* (Slovakia), and several xenophobic phrases such as *Tót nem ember* (a Slovak is not a person), in Hungarian.[179]

[176] Robert Kvaček, 'The Rise and Fall of a Democracy', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 244–66 (p. 258).
[177] Cited in *SSJČ*, vol. 3, M–O, p. 3.
[178] An amendment to the Slovak language law in 2009 forbad the teaching of *Felvidék* (Upper Hungary) to Hungarian-speaking children in Slovakia. See Magdalena Sodomková, 'Odteď už žádný Felvidék', *Mladá fronta Dnes*, 1 September 2009, p. A6.
[179] See Viktor Krupa, 'Is Linguistic Legislation Acceptable?', *Human Affairs*, 8, 1998, 2, pp. 161–69 (p. 165).

Western tourists, business people and long-term residents are now accepted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, in the Czech Republic. Most of the colloquialisms in Czech for the British, who constitute the second largest number of Western visitors after the Germans, are well established and inoffensive. The meaning of all the examples listed by Ouředník — *Anglán*, *Tomík* and *Brityš* — can be easily guessed.[180] Czech observes little systematic distinction between 'English' and 'British', although *Angličan* is statistically more common than *Brit*. According to Hugo, the phrase *Angličan z Vysočan* (Englishman from Vysočany) was previously used to denote a 'show off', but after the Second World War it was increasingly replaced by *Američan z Vysočan* (American from Vysočany), perhaps as a result of the declining importance of the British.[181] The terms cited by Ouředník for the Americans — *Amerikán*, *Amík*, *Jankej* (Yankee) and *Jenký Dudlouš* (Yankee Doodle), are similarly recognizable and are more or less neutral, as are the old-fashioned American slang terms for the Czechs — *Boho*, *Bohee*, *Bohick* and *Cheskey* (see above), but not so the opaque and disrespectful-sounding *bootchkey* (from *bůček* [belly-pork]).[182] Many of the colloquialisms which have been applied in Czech to the French, such as *Frantl*, *Francek* and *Francouzák*, are likewise transparent and unobjectionable. The polysemous noun *francouzák* (with a small 'f') is also a univerbalized form of *francouzský klíč* (monkey wrench) and *francouzský polibek* (French kiss). Other ethnonyms, such as *Cyráno*, *Syráno*, *Frantík* and *žabožrout* (frog glutton/scoffer), may have more negative connotations.[183] *Cyráno* and *Syráno* are associated primarily with Cyrano de Bergerac's large nose, *frantík* is also an old-fashioned slang term for the male member, and *žabožrout* (frog glutton/scoffer) sounds more pejorative than the English word 'Frog', on which it is probably calqued. By contrast, *Frankrajch* (German *Frankreich*), which is used colloquially of France, projects an unambiguously positive image in the phrase *mít se jako pánbůh ve Frankrajchu* (literally 'to live like God in France'; to live in clover) — a loan translation of the German *wie Gott in Frankreich leben*. There are at least two readily identifiable exonyms for an Italian relating to food, both cited by Ouředník — *Makarón* (macaroni) and *Špageťák* (spaghetti person),[184] as well as several colloquial cognates of *Ital* (Italian), including *Íčko*, *Talián* and *Taloš*, and *Itoška* (Italy). *Talián*, which dates

[180] *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, p. 37.
[181] *SNČ*, pp. 44 and 45. The region of Vysočany was presumably chosen on the grounds of prosody, rather than because it was the industrial heart of Prague.
[182] See Short, 'The Broader Czech (and Slovak) Contribution to the English Lexicon', pp. 28 and 33. Short cites *bohee* and *bohick* without capitals, based on the spelling in H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, New York, 1936 (4th edn).
[183] See *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, pp. 37 and 38.
[184] Ibid., p. 38.

back to the nineteenth century, is sometimes associated with incomprehensibility, as in the phrase *mluví hůř než Talián* (he speaks worse than an Italian). In its secondary sense, *talián* refers to a type of coarse seasoned sausage. Amongst the expressions relating to Spain is yet another alluding to language barriers: *španělská vesnice* ('Spanish village'; double Dutch). Several terms connected with the former Yugoslavia — the Czechs' favourite holiday destination, by dint of the proximity of the Croatian coastline — live on as historicisms or misnomers, including *Jugoš* (Yugo[slav]), *Jogurt* (Yugo[slav]; literally 'yoghurt') and *Jugoška* (Yugoslavia).

### *'Problematic' foreigners*

Attitudes to the largest foreign community in the Czech Republic — the Ukrainians — are guarded, despite Czechoslovakia's historical ties with Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Most of the Ukrainian speakers who moved to Czechoslovakia after the war have assimilated, but their numbers have been swelled since 1989 by over a hundred thousand new migrants.[185] There is a reluctant recognition that Ukrainians frequently do the work which Czechs are not keen to do, for low pay, but there is also a perception that they are taking 'Czech' jobs.[186] The Czech legionaries in the Great War sometimes referred to the Ukrainians by the jocular derogatory Russian nickname *Chachlák/Chochlák* or *Chachol/Chochol* (based on the characteristic Cossack haircut) — an expression which is not unheard of in Czech today. A much more common and up-to-date colloquialism for a Ukrainian, especially a migrant worker, is *Úkáčko*, but it is unambiguously pejorative; as is the phrase *je to tady samá Ukrajina* (literally 'it's nothing but Ukraine here'; it's full of Ukrainians here).

Russian tourists and migrants tend to be more affluent and better educated than their Ukrainian counterparts, but their role in post-war Czechoslovak history has ensured that they are subject to enduring opprobrium. Amongst the pejorative nouns for a Russian pre-dating the Soviet system are *Rusák/Rusáček* and *Moskal* (Muscovite), which is also widely used in the languages of the former USSR, especially Ukrainian, to denigrate an inhabitant of the Russian capital or, more

[185] Official figures for 2008 put the number of Ukrainians living in the Czech Republic at 131,921 (compared with 76,034 Slovaks, 60,255 Vietnamese, 27,084 Russians, 21,710 Poles and 17,496 Germans). See *Český statistický úřad*, 'Obyvatelstvo. 4-21. Cizinci v ČR podle pohlaví, věku a občanství (stav k 31. 12.)', Prague, 25 November 2009 <http://www.czso.cz/csu/2009edicniplan.nsf/kapitola/0001-09-2009-0400> [accessed 20 November 2010].

[186] For an analysis of attitudes to foreign workers, see Jan Červenka, 'Postoje české veřejnosti k zaměstnávání cizinců – březen 2010', *CVVM*, 7 April 2010, pp. 1–2. <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101027s_ov100407.pdf> [accessed 18 December 2010].

generally, any Russian citizen.[187] Other more marginal disrespectful slang terms derived from *Rus* (a Russian) include *Rusál/Ruskov/Rusov* and *Rusanda* (a Russian woman). The semantic range of the personal names *Ivan* and *Gagarin* (the cosmonaut) has occasionally been extended to denote any Russian man, while *Nataša* has been used as a general term for a Russian woman. Several of the exonyms employed in the Soviet period, such as *kolchozník* (collective farm worker), *velký* (*širý*) *bratr* (big [vast] brother) and *Sajúz* (from Russian *Soyuz*) for 'the [Soviet] Union', have now entered the category of lexical exoticisms. However, the creative slur *švábobíjec* (cockroach beater), which reflected living conditions at a time when Czechs went to Russian-speaking countries in greater numbers than today, may live on amongst some Czech visitors to the ex-USSR. At least two descriptors, which certainly persist, accentuate linguistic and cultural differences between the Czechs and Russians — *azbuk* (a person who uses the Cyrillic alphabet or *azbuka*) and *Mongol* (based on the perception that many Russians have east Asian features). Josef Škvorecký was roundly condemned by the Communist authorities in the late 1950s for his novel *Zbabělci* (*The Cowards*), which depicted the Soviet soldiers in the town of Kostelec (= Náchod) as *Mongolčíci* (little Mongolians).[188] Although overt hostility to the Russians may have declined since the end of Communism, many of the older generation, in particular, continue to regard their liberators-turned-oppressors as an unprincipled, and even backward-looking people, with 'Asiatic' proclivities.

Czech perceptions of Asians vary significantly, but are frequently tainted by mistrust and disrespect. Czech-Turkish relations date back to the time of Rudolf II (King of Bohemia from 1575 to 1611), and reflect opposition to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The terms *bašibozuk* (literally 'an uncontrollable soldier in irregular Turkish forces') and *janičář* (janissary, especially a captive who switched over to the Turkish infantry) are still known in Czech as synonyms for a 'fanatic'. The verb *poturčit se* (literally 'to become Turkish') is more widely used in the derogatory sense of 'to turn renegade', and has given rise to *poturčenec* (a turncoat), found commonly in the phrase *poturčenec horší Turka* (a turncoat who is worse than a Turk), roughly equivalent to 'more Catholic than the Pope'.[189] Also familiar to Czechs is the

[187] See Vladimir Shlyakov and Eve Adler, *Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions*, New York, 1995, p. 119.

[188] Josef Škvorecký, *Zbabělci*, Prague, 1958. For critical responses to Škvorecký's novel, see, for example, Josef Rybák, 'Červivé ovoce', *Rudé právo*, 14 January 1959, p. 4, and Ladislav Štoll, 'Úkoly literatury v kulturní revoluci', *Literární noviny*, 10, 1959, p. 7.

[189] See *Chrám i tvrz*, p. 191, and Lucie Jílková, 'Turci v češtině', in *Každý den s češtinou. Zajímavosti a zvláštnosti*, pp. 216–17 (p. 217).

expression *turecké hospodářství* (Turkish economy), which denotes a banana republic (cf. German *polnische Wirtschaft* [Polish economy]). Not all the associations with things Turkish are so negative. *Turek* (a Turk) is the normal term for *turecká káva* (Turkish coffee), which was the type of coffee traditionally favoured by Czechs, *být zdravý jako Turek* (to be as healthy as a Turk) equates to the phrase 'to be as fit as a fiddle', and *sedět jako Turek* (to sit like a Turk) means 'to sit cross-legged'.

Asians from the south-east of the continent have been well established in Czech society since the Communist era, when Vietnamese, Korean and other students and workers were invited over. Since late 1989, the Vietnamese have become by some margin the largest non-white minority in the Czech Republic. They are also highly visible by dint of their ubiquitous market stalls and convenience shops. While Czechs generally acknowledge the entrepreneurial skills and hard work of the Vietnamese, their use of the informal pronoun *ty* (you) (albeit sometimes in response to inappropriate modes of address by the Vietnamese themselves) may appear patronizing. Amongst the many ethnophaulisms for south-east Asians are *čang/čong* (chink), *rákos/rákoska/rákosník* ('reed person'), *velocipedista* (cyclist) and *žluťák* ('yellow man').

Of all the minority communities in the Czech Republic, the Roma feel the most mistreated, misunderstood and misrepresented. The Czechs' tendency to regard the Roma as 'foreigners' rather than as an ethnic minority, bears testimony to the extent of the alienation. The Roma are less popular than any other national or ethnic grouping, with three-quarters of the Czechs viewing them as unlikeable (*nesympatičtí*).[190] Research for this study has identified innumerable names for the Roma, of which there have been relatively few, such as *Olach* (Wallachian Roma), *Rumungr* (Hungarian Roma) and *Sinťák* (Sinti), that have enjoyed any acceptability amongst the Roma themselves. Suffice it to say, many of the more derogatory terms relate to the colour of their skin; for example, *bakelit* (bakelite) and *tmavočeši* (dark Czechs), and occasional exonyms such as *Brazilec* (Brazilian) and *Indián* (Indian). Even more xenophobic definientia for Roma are listed elsewhere, and do not merit repeating here.[191] The attitude to the Roma minority is perhaps typified by the insensitive response of a reader to an article by Holomek predicting a deterioration in their economic situation: 'A Gypsy [Cigán] will remain a Gypsy even if he is called by a 100 different names!'[192]

[190] See 'Vztah Čechů k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR', p. 2.
[191] For further examples, see *SNČ*, and *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, p. 37.
[192] Karel Holomek, 'Nejspíš se čeká, až se situace Romů ještě zhorší', *Lidové noviny*, 28 April 2009 <http://www.lidovky.cz/nejspis-se-ceka-az-se-situace-romu-jeste-zhorsi-fl7-/ln_noviny.asp?c=A090428_000003_ln_noviny_sko&klic=231282&mes=090428_0> [accessed 4 June 2009].

The significance of this comment resides not only in its implied condemnation of the Roma way of life, but also in the deliberate choice of the ethnicon *cigán/cikán*, with its negative connotations and crude cognates, such as *cigorky/cikorky*, *cigoši* and *cigánit/cikánit* (to lie, cheat, deceive). The Roma themselves do not generally seek full integration into mainstream Czech society, but they want the *gádžo* (non-Roma) to respect their culture and traditions, in much the same way as the Czech Jewry sought the acceptance of the *goj* (non-Jew).[193] Unfortunately, the Roma desire to be simultaneously outside Czech society and an integral part of it runs counter to the Czechs' interpretation of what constitutes their national identity. The Czechs' perception that the Roma do not 'belong' is accentuated by linguistic differences, which contribute in no small measure to their educational underachievement, with its concomitant social implications.

*The idea of otherness*

The notion of other peoples as outsiders, who threaten homogeneity, is firmly fixed in the Czech lexicon, and may still exert some influence on the collective consciousness, although it is not possible to establish causation. The distinction between 'us' and 'them' was central to the National Revival, and has been reinforced in living memory at the hands of the Germans and the Soviets, and by the legacy of monoculturalism after 1946. It is represented not only by the contrast between *my* (we) and *oni* (they), and *náš* (our[s]) and *jejich* (their[s]), but also by that between *své/svůj* (*vlastní*) (one's own) (cf. *vlast*, above) and *nesvůj/cizí* (someone else's, foreign). Expressions such as *být mezi svými* (to be amongst one's own people) and *svůj k svému* (each to his own), used by tradesmen in the late 1880s to encourage support for Czech-run businesses, have had a particular resonance for the Czechs. The semantic range of *cizí* is broadly similar to that of German *fremd*, but unlike German, it has spawned numerous pejorative expressions, including *cizáci* and *cizáctvo* (undesirable foreigners), *cizáctví* (perfidious foreignness) and *cizácký* (unpleasantly foreign). Near synonyms of *cizáci* are *přivandrovalci/přivandrovanci*, *přŕtběhlíci* and *přilezlíci*, which similarly suggest unwanted outsiders or foreigners. Amongst the common collocates of *cizí* is *nadvláda* (hegemony), cited thirty-five times in the corpus of newspapers and magazines *ČNK – SYN2006PUB* and forty-seven times in *SYN2009PUB*.[194] The phrase *cizí nadvláda* not only functions as a reminder of the historic burden of foreign oppression, but it may also reflect a tendency amongst Czechs to make a scapegoat of external

[193] Racist terms for Jews still exist in Czech, but there is little antisemitism, not least because the Jewish community is now tiny and well assimilated.
[194] *SYN2009PUB* comprises 700 million words.

forces. Heimann is emphatic that 'Even episodes that could not plausibly be blamed on outsiders' (such as the treatment of the German and Hungarian minorities after the war, and the antisemitism of the 1950s) have been 'justified by the supposed collective "guilt" of "national enemies" of the righteous Czech and Slovak nations'.[195]

A further distinction between 'us' and 'them' is observed in the terms for 'home' and 'abroad'. Some Czechs continue to differentiate between *doma* (literally 'at home [in our country]') and *venku* ('outside [our country]'), even though the borders are now open for travel. Alternatives to *doma a v cizině* (at home and abroad) and *Češi a cizinci* (Czechs and foreigners) are *v tuzemsku i v cizině* (literally 'in this land and abroad') and *tuzemci i cizozemci* ('people from this land and from abroad'), respectively. The adjectival form *tuzemský*, which is contrasted with *cizozemský* and *zahraniční* (foreign), collocates most frequently in *ČNK – SYN2010* with *trh* (market), but it is often associated with rum, known colloquially as *tuzemský* or *tuzemák*. The adjectives *zdejší* (local [pertaining to here]) and *tamější/tamní* (local [pertaining to somewhere else]), which collocate quite commonly with *rodák* (fellow countryman), can also denote a contrast between 'home' and 'abroad'.

The Czechs' affiliation to the national whole is perhaps best exemplified by the pronoun *náš* and its cognates. Sports fans refer to *náš* and so forth as a short form for *český reprezentant / čeští reprezentanti* (the Czech representative[s]), as in *náš byl druhej* ('ours' [the Czech] was second) and *naši remizovali ve Slovinsku* ('ours' [we] drew in Slovenia), and cartons of Tesco Value long-life skimmed milk bear the slogan *Náš výrobek* (Our product) alongside a Czech flag. In the past, *náš* sometimes subsumed both the Slovaks, as in *naši dobrovolníci v Rusku* ('our volunteers' in Russia [in the Great War]), and German-speaking Czechoslovak citizens, as in Masaryk's phrase *naši Němci* (our Germans), but even this seemingly inclusive usage may have consolidated a sense of otherness by implying that they were in essence still Germans. Derivatives of *náš*, which may allude to national identity, include *našinec* (one of us), as in *našinci v cizině* ('ours' [Czechs] abroad) and *našinecký/našinský* (one of our[s]), as in *našinecké/našinské písně* (one of our [Czech/Moravian] songs).[196] (See also *u nás* and *náš národ*, above.)

This constantly repeated distinction between Czech and non-Czech, predicated on age-long territorial claims, and consolidated by a shared language, culture and history, may have reinforced the notion of nationality as a birthright. Holy has argued that the expression *matka vlast* ('mother' land), makes the parental role of the home country

[195] See *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, pp. 148–49.

[196] Compare *po našymu* (in our way), which is used of the form of Czech spoken in Teschen Silesia.

explicit, and has also pointed out that *narodit(i) se* (to be born) is derived from *národ* (nation) (cf. Greek *patris*).[197] The Revivalist phrase *Národ sobě!* (literally 'The nation to itself!'; By the people, for the people!), used as a rallying cry for the collection of funds to construct the National Theatre (*Národní divadlo*), stressed both the self-dependence and the indivisibility of the Czech people. However, the Czech birthright has not only granted the citizen the privilege of belonging, but it has also entailed patriotic responsibilities. According to Holy, Czechs tend to regard as renegades their compatriots who live abroad, as reflected in the verb *odrodit(i) se* (to renounce one's birth).[198] Anecdotal evidence suggests that this may have been the case between 1948 and 1989, but it probably no longer applies to the same extent nowadays.

Traditional perceptions of the self and others have been significantly influenced by the new spirit of internationalism, which has emerged in the last two decades. Cross-cultural communication has inevitably improved as a result of globalization, technological progress, membership of the European Union, increased foreign language study and travel abroad, and the growing number of non-Czechs in the Czech Republic, including some who speak the language well. Trans-border cooperation has also benefited from the European Union policy of replacing the Herderian model of language-culture-state with a new regionally based sense of integration. As Černá puts it, 'the relationship between language and nation in Europe has been recontextualized and reformulated as a relationship between language and citizenship'.[199] Čmejrková and Daneš, who address the theme of 'své' and 'cizí' from a functional perspective, have similarly identified a re-drawing of the dividing lines between peoples: 'The geographical boundaries are being erased, but the boundaries between the language of social, professional and interest groups are being accentuated.'[200] While it may be the case that the distinctions between Czech speakers and 'unproblematic' foreigners are becoming increasingly blurred, critical attitudes to 'problematic' newcomers are far from uncommon. The progressive public discourses about identity do not always correlate to private discourses, and participation in a larger community does not automatically ensure

[197] *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, p. 68.
[198] Ibid.
[199] Kateřina Černá, 'Czech–German Relationships and Identity in a Cross-border Region', in *Language, Discourse and Identity in Central Europe*, pp. 96–121 (p. 97).
[200] Světla Čmejrková and František Daneš, 'Své a cizí z hlediska funkčního', in Zdeňka Hladká and Petr Karlík, *Čeština – univerzália a specifika*, 5, Prague, 2004, pp. 321–33 (p. 328).

greater preparedness to embrace all outsiders. Indeed, half the interviewees in a recent opinion survey expressed the view that there are too many foreigners in the Czech Republic.[201]

*Conclusion*

This article has discussed a wide range of matters relating to naming practices, in the context of the Czech-speaking lands, with specific reference to large-scale regional, ethnic and national groupings. Much of the detail of the study falls outside conventional onomastic research, in that it presents a synthesis of ethnolinguistic and semantic aspects of usage, rather than focusing on, say, etymology or morphological variation. The examples cited cover in depth the period from the National Revival to the present day, and include both standard and colloquial forms in Czech and contact languages. Many of the officially-approved designations suggest the presuppositions of a particular ideology, while the colloquial descriptors are perhaps more indicative of the predilections and prejudices of ordinary people. There have been numerous other works on titles and ethnonyms, including some interesting comparative studies,[202] but less attention has been paid elsewhere to their implications for perceptions of the 'self' and 'others'.

The diachronic dimension of this article has sought to show how the development of the nation state is reflected in the adoption and adaptation of names. It is argued that the legitimacy of the First Republic was derived largely from a series of nineteenth-century 'myths', which promoted the interests of the majority over those of minorities. The lexicon bears witness not only to traditional negative perceptions of the German-speaking world, as exemplified by concepts such as *prušáctví* and *rakušáctví*, but also to various stereotypes and caricatures, including that of the Slovak as a tinker (*dráteník*) and the Hungarian as an eater of spicy food (*feferón* and *paprikáč*), as well as to a series of asymmetrical relationships amongst the peoples of Czechoslovakia. The very terms *Čech* and *český* implictly exclude non-Bohemians, while *Moravan* and *moravský* have served to reduce the visibility of Silesians. More significantly, in the First Republic, the Czechs' not infrequent use of *český* to embrace the notion of 'Czech and Slovak', and their insistence on spelling *Československo* without a hyphen, was felt by some Slovaks to cast them in a secondary role. The policy of Czechoslovakism and the

[201] See Jan Červenka and Michal Janíčko, 'Postoje české veřejnosti k cizincům – březen 2010', *CVVM*, 6 April 2010, pp. 1–5 (p. 1) <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101026s_ov100406.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

[202] See, for example, Robert Zett, 'Slavische und Deutshe Ländernamen im Vergleich', in W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, Aberdeen, 4–11 August 1996 (3 vols), vol. 2, pp. 394–402

promotion of a unified Czechoslovak language reinforced this Slovak sense of subordination. By contrast, the noun *Čechoslovák*, which implied Czech and Slovak solidarity, but had limited applications in both languages, effectively marginalized other ethnic groups, such as the Germans, Hungarians and Poles.

The synchronic aspect of this article has highlighted, inter alia, the extent to which the names applied to different peoples, as well as the territories that they occupy and the languages they speak, have a connotative meaning, which is less stable than their conceptual or cognitive meaning. Leech has pointed out that the associative meanings of words relating to nationalities and political ideas or movements, in particular, can be so strong that their dictionary sense is sometimes almost forgotten.[203] For instance, the terms *Čechy* and *čechista*, or *pepík* and *Pragocentrismus* (Pragocentrism), may be interpreted and employed quite differently by a Moravian nationalist than by a 'typical' Czech. Representations of the self can also contain apparent contradictions. The connotations of the term *Čech* are, for most Czech speakers, quite positive, yet the ethnicons *MČČ* and *Čecháček* highlight a less laudable side of the Czech character. Similarly, although many Czechs see themselves as a cultured and educated people, whose role models include great thinkers, statesmen, writers and composers, their national stereotype, Švejk, is an unsophisticated beer-guzzling anti-hero.

Notwithstanding some cultural differences between the Bohemians and Moravians/Silesians, the two peoples continue to enjoy, for the most part, a special relationship, which is based on an unquestioning acceptance of their (exclusive) right to the former territories of the Bohemian Crown. The innumerable terms distinguishing Czechs from non-Czechs, including a great many ethnophaulisms for foreigners, particularly erstwhile adversaries, have at least symbolically underpinned Czech solidarity and undermined the notion of the multiethnic state. Czechs may now be more accepting of certain types of foreigner than they were in the past, and they may no longer attach such importance to place of birth as they used to, but they continue to have a clearly-defined sense of what it means to be 'Czech'. The most important determinants of Czechness identified in a survey of 1,700 informants in 1997 are a person's ability to speak the language and the extent to which he or she feels Czech.[204] The link between language and nation, which has been emphasized by Czech scholars from

[203] *Semantics*, p. 51.

[204] Alena Nedomová and Tomáš Kostelecký, 'The Czech National Identity: Basic Results of the 1995 National Survey', *Czech Sociological Review*, 1, 1997, pp. 79–92 (p. 84) <http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/443020da8b2425f8ae88aae4fd84d71b874c987d_440_079NEKOS.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

Jungmann to Albert Pražák, remains so strong that even closely-related minorities, such as the Slovaks and Poles, have tended to opt for full assimilation rather than preserving their linguistic heritage.[205] The question of 'feeling Czech' is more subjective, but the adoption of a Czech identity entails the acceptance of Czech values and norms, and thereby suggests at least tacit endorsement of the post-war monocultural consensus.

The near unity which characterizes Czech attitudes to the sanctity of their nationhood is not necessarily reflected equally in all other questions relating to the nation state. Public opinion is divided on a number of matters, including some which have implications for naming practices, such as the break-up of Czechoslovakia. Since separating from the Slovaks, the Czechs have been especially exercised by the subject of the most appropriate single-word designation for the Czech Republic. Many Czechs agree that an informal alternative to *Česká republika* is required, but some Bohemians prefer to stick to *Čechy* for aesthetic reasons or on the grounds of familiarity, while a small number of Moravians reject *Česko* because it omits reference to Moravia. Resistance to *Česko* in everyday communication is proving surprisingly stubborn, despite the extensive use of the term in the media and other authoritative sources. In a land whose founding fathers repeatedly stressed the central role of language in nation-building, the choice of the title of the country is of more than purely symbolic importance. Not for nothing is Palacký's major study of names, published in 1848, still recognized as a seminal work by linguists and historians alike.[206]

[205] See Tilman Berger, 'Jazyk a národ', in *Češi a Němci*, pp. 131–35, Albert Pražák, *Národ se bránil*, Prague, 1945, and Šárka Hernová and Gabriela Sokolová, 'Národně jazykové vědomí obyvatel národnostně smíšených oblastí České republiky', Opava, 2000.

[206] František Palacký, *Popis království čili podrobné poznamenání všech dosavadních krajův, panství, statkův, měst, městeček a vesnic, někdejších hradův a tvrzí, též samot a zpustlých osad mnohých v zemi české, s udáním jejich obyvatelstva podle popisu r. 1843 vykonaného v jazyku českém i německém*, Prague, 1848.